HAINAN TAO CHIH MIAO-JEN
(The Miao People of Hainan Island)

by

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/Title page/

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Preface

114 In the spring of 1937 a joint commission for the investigation of the Li and Miao of Hainan Island was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton, and the Institute for the Study of the Societies of Southwest China at the privately operated Lingnan University. Dr. Yang Ch'eng-chih, a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University led this commission, of which I was one of the members. It was indeed a happy circumstance in my life that just after an expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area in Kwangtung province, I had another opportunity for a firsthand investigation of these peoples of the Southwest. (In the winter of 1936 I had participated in the expedition to Yao-shan in the Pei-chiang area of Kwangtung, which was organized by the Department of Liberal Arts of the Graduate School, National Sun Yat-sen University.) As I am a native of Hainan and understand the local dialects, I was instructed to stay in the Li and Miao region for a longer period with Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung of Lingnan University. I was especially gratified to have this opportunity to make more detailed observations.

Not long after our return from the expedition, the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred on July 7. The program of editing and printing the commission's report was to a great extent affected by wartime uncertainties in South China. Now over a year has passed, and it has not yet been carried out. The original purpose of our investigation 121 was, on the one hand, to open up a new field for academic studies in China with some new material; and, on the other hand, to provide our government and the public with more information concerning our frontier peoples in the hope that it would help them to understand the frontier situation and to carry out administrative operations there. 114 Since both objectives are extremely important, the Chinese intellectual community as well as the public must be anxiously waiting for the results of our studies. It is very regrettable that our report cannot yet be published. Because I had stayed there and conducted my investigation

M /ii cont'd/
114 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material,
I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to
use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books:
Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of
M the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao
H Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.

122 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton
114 on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of
the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short
delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the
aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or
so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li
H and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this
[101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan,
and also Hainan was the only native ~~locale of the~~ Li people. It can
truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment;
there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we
made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao
was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in
the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This
book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period.
The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory.
Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the
Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty
H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.

M
101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries.
With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable
that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives
of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization.
Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of
M life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many
114 ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book
[128] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

/iii cont'd/

114 book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not
[128] bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books
at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the
credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the mem-
bers of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is
printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself,
must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those
others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work
of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, how-
[164] ever, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested
with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close
together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same
kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to
each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into
the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will
leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

121 I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

1: Wang--iv S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

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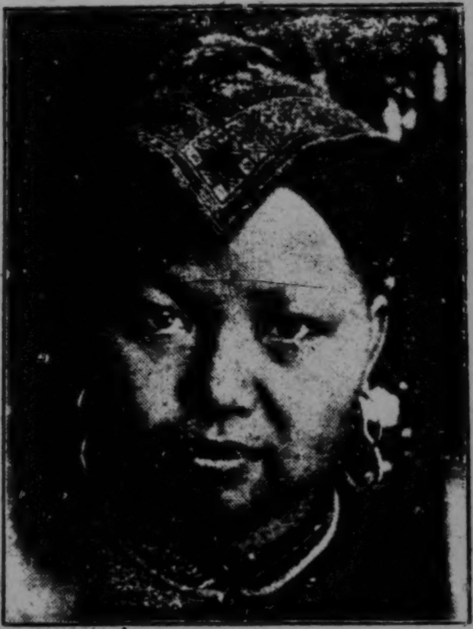
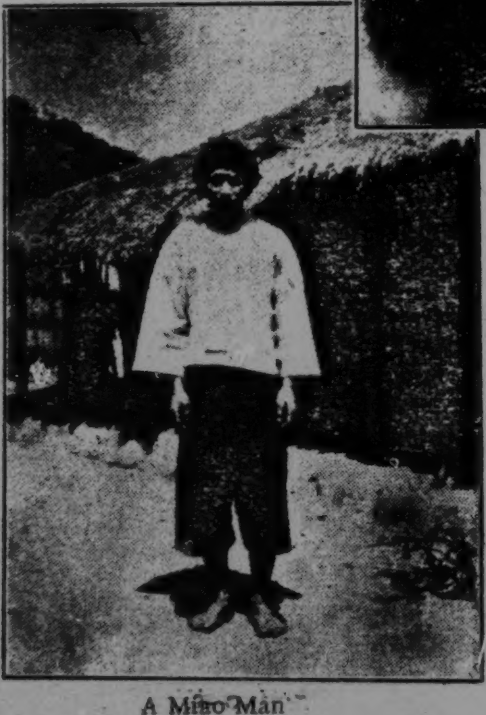


A Miao Woman.a



A Miao Man

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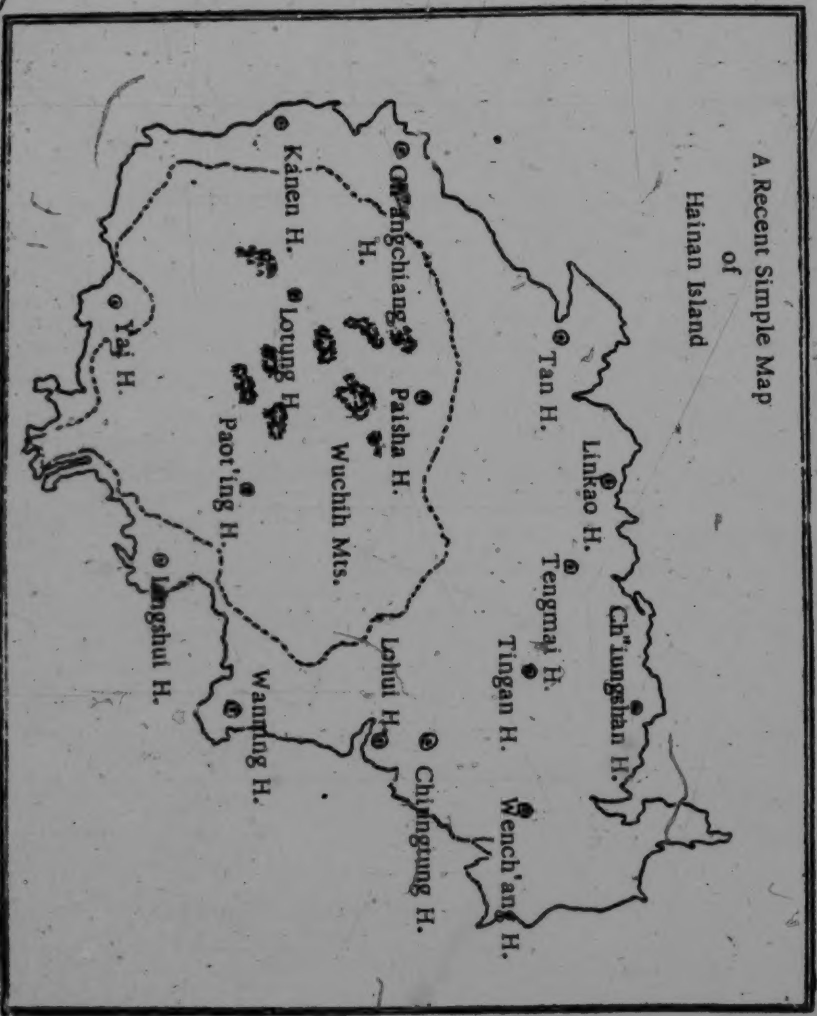
A Recent Simple Map
of
Hainan Island
Tan H.
Linkao H.
Ch'iungshan H.
Tengmai H.
Tingan H.
Wench'ang H.
Chiungtung H.
Lohui H.
Wanning H.
Lingshui H.
Paot'ing H.
Wuchih Mts.
Paisha H.
Ch'angchiang H.
Kanen H.
Lotung H.
Yai H.

162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general distribution can be roughly estimated.

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Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

7

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 101 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 [161] "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung [181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are 101 175 very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

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[204] /* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains [411] and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the [279] present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people [291] /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like [481] that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where [221] they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned [224] or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are [754] able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under [illegible] command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

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[104] */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

/2 cont'd/

101 in the *Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih* /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang *t'ung* in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his *Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings*, Cheng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the *Lang-mu* and raise *Ta-shou* troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's *Shih-hu I-chi* /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

/* This is Cheng's *hao*, or literary name.—Ed./

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the *Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih* /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the *Kan-en Hsien-chih* /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the *Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture*, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other *t'ungs* in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

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101 175 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman.—Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 175 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recommended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

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217 Ch'u P'ing reign period /190-94 A.D./, be allowed to go to the
175 provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Ch'ao-chou, Hu-kuang,
and Hupei, traveling on roads and waterways and living in the high
mountains by wood while wood-cutting and cultivating, cutting and
planting.

This is the due document to act as proof in perpetuity.

This certificate was filed for reference on the 16th day of the fifth month in the fifth year of Ch'u P'ing.

217 It is still a mystery where and when they had gained this "certificate," which up to the present is still carefully kept by them as their most precious treasure. From the description in the last paragraph, we are sure that the Miao of Hainan not only had direct relationship with the Miao (?) of Kwangsi but also had the same origin as the other Miao tribes (?) in different regions throughout South China.

173 From what has been said above, there is no doubt that the Miao
of Hainan migrated from Kwangsi during the Ming period. However,
I am very doubtful that the Miao of Hainan are actually the same as
197 the Miao of Kwangsi, because from the linguistic point of view, the
languages spoken by them are very different. On the contrary, the spoken language of the Miao people of Hainan is very similar to that of the Yao people; particularly it is similar to, and almost identical with, the dialect spoken by the Lan-tien ("blue indigo") Yao tribes living in the Ling-yün area. The chart which follows may be helpful for reference. (Note: The vocabulary of the Miao of Hainan shown in the following chart is in my own romanization. The romanization of the vocabulary of the different Yao peoples of Kwangsi is based upon Kuang-hsi Lin-yün Yao-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi/, jointly compiled by Yen Fu-li and Shang Cheng-tsu. The romanization of the words of the Miao of Kwangsi province is based upon Liu Hsi-fan's Ling-piao Chi Man /The Aborigines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi/. In Liu's book, however, Chinese phonetic symbols are used. For the sake of uniformity I have used romanization in the present writing.)

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		The Miao Tribes		The Yao Tribes in Kwangsi Province			
		Kwangsi	Hainan	Lan-tien	Red Head	P'an Ku	Long Hai
	one	chŭ	à	a	i	nŏm	i
	two	hwŏ	ǐ	i	au	i-(nŏm)	aö
	three	bei	bo	bo	be	buo	bu
	four	saw	bā̃	bie	djia	bie	djua
	five	jei	bà	bia	biu	bia	bia
	six	dǔ	kûr	djio	dsŭ	djio	du
	seven	shen	njē	nje	thang	sjê	sang
	eight	i	z	jet	yu	chet	jo
197	nine	yōu	dŏ	ndu	dsŭ	duo	dsŭ
192	ten	shu	sip	shap	dsŭ	ds'ep	dsŭ
	nose		bŭ-jong	bu-djong	bi- pa-biau	bu-kot	
	eye		ngwie		djan- pa-many	me'-dsing	ge-mang
	ear		blom	mo-nom		mo-nom	ge-mia
	mouth		jet	djet		dsui	
	/6/						
	hand		bŭ	bu	go-po-be	bu°-du	ba
	foot		tou	thou	go-dau	dsau-de	do
	son	dȧ	sā		dung	don	dung-djing
	daughter	dā̆r pīe	sā-sȧr			thié	
	dog		clō		du-djé	dju°	dsja
	sheep	li	jon	yong	du-yang	yung	du-ang
	pig	mēi	dung	dǔng		dung	
	house		ber	biau	lu-bi	piau	bīa
	bunch		dung	dang		dang	do^{ng}-yo

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197 yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
192 sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wô	ngong	wau
moon		ngȧr	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	ńang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fei	fei	foi	bu	ba

197 /7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a compara-
171 tively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from *lan-tien* /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The *lan-tien* is a plant, *Polygonum tinctorium*, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the *Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi* /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp.
[384] 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the *lan-tien*. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

171 If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the *Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi*, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

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171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

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101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At
present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps,
the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but
had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were
called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the
peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem
in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the
mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They
move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from
depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this
[166] kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their
fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao
recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been
cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu,
Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou,
called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung
/magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou
Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in
Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the
military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages
were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for
guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have
been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/

131 175 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 166 221 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly. (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

621 551 162

Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/*10* *cont'd*/

621 Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
551 San-wei	4	Shih
162 Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

621 /*11*/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao *t'uan* /groups/ (each *t'uan* comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

634 The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

161 What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means.
[127] First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops
who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his *Record*
175 *of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings* /see above/ that "the central
161 army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered
10,000 of the *han-ta* troops and *Lang-t'u* soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his *Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings,* Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/11 cont'd/
175 "If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise
161 Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-
enforcements." If these "Han-ta troops," "Lang-t'u soldiers," and
the "Lang-mu," the "Ta-shou," etc., all were Miao troops, or if
Miao troops constituted a part of them, we may conclude that the
Miao troops who were repeatedly moved there could not have
numbered less /12/ than 10,000. Another important question is
whether these Miao troops brought their women along with them, or
whether it was only in a later period that they began to increase
175 prolifically through marrying the women of other groups in the Hainan
area? This is a very interesting question worthy of study. It is, of
162 course, closely related to the physical type of the present Miao people,
and it is also directly related to the question of the number of
original Miao immigrants. As far as I know, even at the present
[582] time, marriage among the Miao is still limited to their own group.
To marry members of other groups (such as the Chinese, Li, Ch'i,
Hsiao, and others) is forbidden. Thus it is very probable that the
Miao troops brought their women with them when they first came.
There might have been an equal number of women accompanying
161 the original 10,000 Miao troops. Hence, the number of earliest Miao
175 immigrants would have been over 10,000 at the very least.

[127] Secondly, we shall examine the numbers recorded in the local annals. In the annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, it is stated that the Miao in Tan-chou consisted of "about 90 families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than a thousand." Since they numbered "less than a thousand," we may suppose that there were 500. An average village might consist of ten families of five members each. According to the same source, there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district. To use the same method of statistical averages for measurement, the five villages might have consisted of 50 families with 250 individuals. According to the annals of Kan-en district, there were "several hundred Miao families" in this particular district. Let us suppose that there were 500 families. Using the same method of calculation, there might have been 50 villages with a total population of 2,500, not counting those who

/12 cont'd/
161 lived in Yai-chou. For purposes of clarification we have made the
175 following table:

District	Number of Villages	Number of Villages	Total Population
Tan-chou	10	100	500
Ch'iung-shan Hsien	5	50	250
Kan-en Hsien	50	500	2,500
Yai-chou			

/13/ Thus we can deduce a total population of several thousand. The
Miao population in other areas /of Hainan Island/ is not included.
63 (During the Ch'ing period, Hainan Island was divided into three *chou*
and ten hsien /two types of districts/. Of these, only two hsien,
Wen-ch'ang and Hui-t'ung, were purely Chinese.)

127 The third method is by examination of firsthand reports. According
to the numbers furnished by Mr. Wang Fu-shou and Mr. Yang
Tsung-yao, there are three Miao *t'uan* and 25 Miao villages within
Pao-t'ing district. If we suppose that each *t'uan* consists of 30 villages
(this is the average number in each *t'uan* in Pao-t'ing district), there
should be 115 Miao villages in Pao-t'ing. If each village consists of
ten families, there would be 1,150 families altogether. If each
family has five members, the total Miao population in the Pao-t'ing
area would be 5,750. If there are the same number of Miao in the
other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, the total Miao population
in Hainan at present would be three times the above number, or
17,250. (There is a statement on page 85 of the *Hainan Tao Chih*
/Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others:
241 "The Miao people like to live in the mountains. Usually they burn
311 the mountain to clear the land for cultivation; afterward they move
away again. It seems that they live in no permanent place. In such
places as the vicinity of Feng-hsü *t'ung* of Tan-chou, Nan-mo *t'ung*
of Lo-hui, the vicinity of Ssu-ho in Ting-an /hsien/, the four villages

/13 cont'd/
241 311 of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the
valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation
161 by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li."
This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical
distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai
area were set up.)

162 There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the
175 Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure
144 blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of
other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible
that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom
has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is
not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying,
the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing
[597] district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached
old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou,
who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very
beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and
Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could
not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to
suppose that the other families were originally from other groups
who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself,
some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became
a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some
foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed
favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other
162 hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of
175 other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the
144 family register of the Lin family:

178 "Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people
and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang
(?) married a Miao."

162 Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had
144 some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname,
178 who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/14 cont'd/

162 144 178 district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is indeed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

/15/

Chapter II. Language

192 802

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ă	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngǐ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bă̄	forty	tā sip
six	kŭr	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngǔ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dǒ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shǔ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ă bā
twelve	sip ngǐ	two hundred	i bă̄
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngǔ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shǔ		
twenty	nī sip		

/16 cont'd/

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802

English	Miao
Ordinal Numbers	
first	dē it
second	dē ngǐ
third	dē tum
Time	
today	nǐ noy
yesterday	com bō
day before yesterday	ngûr noy
tomorrow	tung deo
day after tomorrow	ngū deo
day	gong-noy
night	ngim

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Parts of the Body	
head	bě
eye	ngwǐe
ear	bloḿ
nose	bǔ-jong
mouth	jet
hair	bā

English	Miao
tooth	yà
tongue	bǐd
heart	tim
back	cà-tun-cun
belly	yoū
hand	bǔ
finger	bū-ndō-kin
leg	tou-tswie
foot	tou
Human Relationships	
person	moon
man	moon-fâ
woman	moon-ou
child	moon-sa
/17/ boy	moon-ton-kin
girl	moon-sà-kin
father	fâ
mother	jǐ
son	sā
daughter	sā-sǎr
elder brother	kō
younger brother	zū
elder sister	or

1: Wang-18   S-5 (1937)   1948   AE5 Miao AE5

/17 cont'd/

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192

English	Miao
younger sister	mŭ
old man	kō-moon
old woman	ko-bŭ
paternal grandfather	kong
paternal grandmother	kō
paternal grandfather's elder brother	bĕ
paternal grandfather's elder brother's wife	chŭ
paternal grandfather's younger brother	jū-sop
paternal grandfather's younger brother's wife	tī
father's elder brother	bĕ
father's elder brother's wife	chŭ
father's younger brother	jū-sop
father's younger brother's wife	tī
husband's elder brother's wife	zū
husband's younger brother's wife	tī
brother's son	sā ton
brother's daughter	sā tī

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English	Miao
elder first cousin on father's side	kō
younger first cousin on father's side	zū
father's sister	ma
mother's married sister	mŭ
wife's father	sin-shà-fâ
wife's mother	sin-shà-jĭ
son-in-law	lung
husband's father	fâ
husband's mother	jĭ
daughter-in-law	jim
/18/	
husband	moon fâ
wife	moon ou
maternal grandfather	kong
maternal grandmother	kō
sister's son	ngoy ting

Household Furnishings, etc.	
village	ngung
market	shaw
field	ngin
well	tin
house	ber
door	king
table	tom

1: Wang--19 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/18 cont'd/

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English	Miao
chair	ĕr
stool	dung
bed	tsau
lamp	tung
Animals	
ox	ngong
horse	må
sheep	jon
pig	dung
dog	clō
cat	mou
rat	dō-kin
chicken	chei
duck	up
goose	ngàr
fly	bom-ḡim
ant	sep-blou-long
snake	noun
bee	dong
fish	bū
Plants	
tree	ngoung
/19/	
flower	fung
grass	wa
vegetable	gā
bamboo	lou
leaf	non

English	Miao
Weather	
clouds	bun
wind	jou
rain	bon
hot	kim
cold	num
Colors	
black	kyà
red	ti
green	kyà-ti
yellow	vung
Adjectives	
few	mŏ-dong
good	gong
bad	mà-gong
big	lō
small	kin
long	doú
short	mà-ning
old	kō̿
young	gon
beautiful	quī̿
ugly	tou
Time (2)	
year	ngung
month	ngår
morning	kon dom
evening	kon gim

1: Wang--20 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/20/

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English	Miao
Positive and Negative	
yes	zā
no	mozā
Short Sentences	
I see	yà wong
you see	moy wong
I hear	yà nom
you hear	moy nom
I smell	yà hom
you smell	moy hom
I eat	yà en
you eat	moy en
I drink	yà hop
you drink	moy hop
I speak	yà kong wa
you speak	moy kong wa
I take	yà yao
you take	moy yao
he runs	mein ning
he comes	mein dei
he comes in	mein yā dà
he goes out	mein sat ning
he goes up	mein tou ning
he comes down	mein yûr ning
he gets up	mein qûr
he sits down	mein et
I sleep	yà fei
you sleep	moy fei

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192 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao
802 language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in
171 other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten
combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number
eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten)
and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and
erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like
this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but
193 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable
171 difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity
of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity
is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the
reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put
after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say
"blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the
Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue,"
"mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an
Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret
that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind
of syntax.

191 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in
184 Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based
upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi
village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan
Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and
others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and
Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of
Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

/22/

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184

	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

101 1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

121 The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably
361 influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly
evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came
to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival,
the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by
the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover,
the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also
left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced
133 to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of
[131 Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly
361] limited their agricultural development. However, the dense moun-
221 tain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this
respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

/23 cont'd/
133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing
to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In
general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important
and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no
importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by
geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the
second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees;
then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to
be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in
holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice
grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and
only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or
ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early
spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts
is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention
to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can
be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from
the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second
period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311
241 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from tilling the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation [374] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh 166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244
245 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas may be seen occasionally.

/25 cont'd/

224 3. Hunting

411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather
[245 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao
28[] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have
[278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also
278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man
752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small
171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, 527 tun, sår co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/27 cont'd/
226 here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing
are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they
occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish
individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important
role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

463 Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-
462 developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets,
[285 boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for
322] domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for
[439] rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in
making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc.,
are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time
[342] with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these
houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not
286 personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women
are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area
386 /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from
286 the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process
consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing
and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The
cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time,
the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the
design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax
method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among
the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail.
He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain
place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are
painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953)
was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

/28 cont'd/
386 designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult
286 craft; if it is not skillfully done; the wax design may be broken.
Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft.
After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water,
and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order
to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the
process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of *Miao Tsu
Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao* /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/,
p. 267.)

285 Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they
482 go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous
415 possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese
women who carry babies on their backs.

437 7. Trade

438 Because their productivity is slight and their products are very
similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao
themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their
439 commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such
as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above.
Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is
only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese
peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the
same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the
[443] Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the
Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the
Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district,
one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third,
they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this
is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do
they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese
markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of *li* away
but many are a hundred *li* away. Since the Miao all live a simple
life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they
come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a
month at the most.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
343 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son,
grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the
family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even
in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages
which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the
latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally,
the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than
he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive.
From what I have heard, this is completely different from the
manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give
orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among
the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether
he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second
wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance,
the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be
wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still
without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We
have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which
has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve
as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it.
Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopulation.
[582] Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage
within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the
entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a
balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/31 cont'd/
595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness
of single men" would be inevitable.

When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided
428 among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons,
his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the
right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose hus-
597 band comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has
the right to inherit.

551 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539 /32/
601 MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS

A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS — BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture inKwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/32 cont'd/

539 601 auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different./

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

602 With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname./ This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

[221] 61 Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

/*33* *cont'd*/
61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for
this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the
same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes
on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society
seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the
most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not
only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for
discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former
type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of
more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which
there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable
gardens. The headman of the village today is called *chia-ch'ang*
/"head of a *chia*, or 100 families"/ or *pao-ch'ang* /"head of a *pao*,
or 10 *chia*"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous
work, *Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island*). Before
the *pao-chia* system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region
by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called
shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /*34*/ This position was usually
filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications
for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

[527 787] According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /uncl[illegible]sitting at the table may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for ever!

/34 cont'd/

539 Is the year chia-tzu an intercalary year without an intercalary
day?
/35/ We ask you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Where may we find the greatest benefit?
What is the most auspicious direction for the door to
open toward?
Will we be fortunate again this year, or will no leaves grow?
Where is the best place for planting crops?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us:
Will all the stars be safe and happy for a million years?
On which side of the mountain shall we live safely?
Will the world be peaceful and the people have plenty of
food?
This year has passed and the next year approaches.
We ask you what your plan is for scattering and settling down.
Once your plan is made known to the stars,
Prepare the horses and things for the journey.
We ask you, venerable sir, about the tree of the Official of
the Spring,
And how much water and fish there will be for the coming
year.
What amount of fish should be caught and animals be hunted?
How will be the spring rain and the sprouts of grain?
We beg you, venerable sir, to tell us.
This is why all the stars have come here.

/* This Miao folk song is very obscure even in the Chinese text. Many words were obviously miswritten by the original Miao copyist who miswrote the Chinese characters replacing them with those having the same sound. For instance, the character chin ("the present") in the sixth and ninth lines may be a miswriting of chin ("gold"); kan-tai a miswriting of kan-t'ai ("a dry or clean table") in the eighth

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr. /

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[42] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

1: Wang--36a S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5

/36 cont'd/

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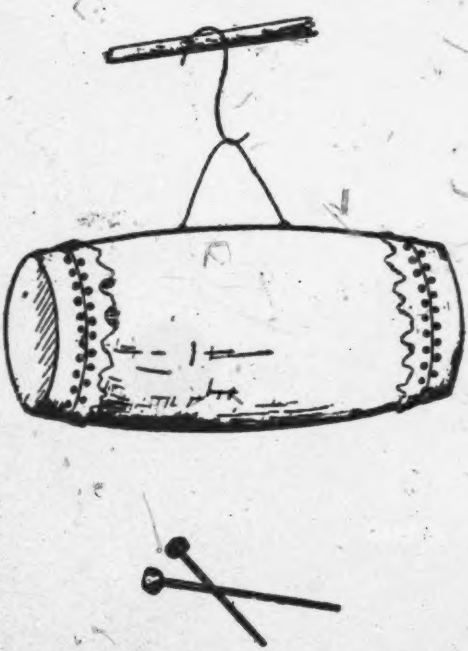

This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his
[431/276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[628] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the *pao-chia* system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a *pao*, which is a subdivision of a *chia*. A *chia* is a subdivision of a *t'uan*. A Miao village is either under the administration of a *chia* or a *pao*. Relationships between the *pao* and the *chia*, the *chia* and the *t'uan* apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the *pao-chia* system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, *Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island*.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which
427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/37 cont'd/
427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate
of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by
yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either
to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by
mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually
423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the
rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who
may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has
any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao
are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is
that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on.
[675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed
by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and
the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many
mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers,
[622] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang
is written, because he is the representative of the whole village
during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the
home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of
this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the
price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping
/the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each
family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn,
bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners
of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will
be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This
contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement
is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/38 cont'd/

675 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
539 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of
423 Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

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675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing
427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

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423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains.

423 621 Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/
421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to
cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as
follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select
an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of
trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it.
Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is
already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after
this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public
ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private
ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao
social organization, the property accumulated by different families
varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of
irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the
average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the *chia-ch'ang* of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land
and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in
the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people
among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is
privately owned by different families, and is never confused with
communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for
accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a
greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and
consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not
very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or
tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences
between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them.
[567] Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but
only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer"
/formulated by Dr. Sún Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be
used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V: Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have
262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of
frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white,
polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains
three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when
they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with
the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for
[263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while
eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and
262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and
252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are
entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special
way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked,
the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask,
which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half
cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi-
[illegible] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes.
When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask
through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked.
It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately
we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[148] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[744] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273
276 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco [redacted] of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor or lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/44 cont'd/

440 are only rarely seen. The ho-ts'ang (or drying bin) and the granary
343 are both built beside the house. The domesticated animals are
417 pastured in the open fields. Corrals for cattle and pens for swine are very rarely seen.

4. Travel

484 The Miao live high in the mountains. From the bottom to the top of a single mountain is a long distance. Furthermore, the moun-
[487] tain paths are usually steep and rugged and difficult to travel on. During our field trip, we were always exhausted after visiting a Miao village, and it always took us a long time to recover. But the Miao, whether young or old, male or female, are all energetic and light as birds. They do not appear to be tired even after they have
[291] climbed several high peaks. Moreover, they all walk barefooted. Sharp stones and thorns do not bother them, and they never hurt themselves. It is usually more /45/ than a hundred li to and from a Chinese market. Starting off in the morning and returning in the evening, they never stay a day or half a day more than necessary.
[492] Only a few relatively wealthy persons ride horses.

5. Social Intercourse

574 The Miao are very polite in their social intercourse whether with
576 relatives or friends. When guests leave, the host always sees them out the door. As he sees his guests off, he bends his body slightly forward with head bowed and both hands raised to the level of his head, and the guests do the same.

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. Betrothals are either made through the decision of the 584 parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well [622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787] each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many trage- 583 dies of lovers have resulted therefrom. Betrothal presents consist of [831] about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-608 law comes to live in the wife's family/ in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/47 cont'd/

585 Before the wedding someone is invited by both families to select an auspicious day for the wedding in accordance with the hour, day, month, and year of birth of both the girl and boy. Once the date is selected, both families then begin to prepare for the wedding. If the wedding is of the ch'ü-hsi type, the bridegroom's family comes to the bride's family to go to meet the bride. Otherwise, the bridegroom is received at the home of his wife.

123 At one time, the author attended a Miao wedding ceremony of the chao-chui type. The following account was written in accordance with what I saw that day. It may help the reader to understand the usual manner in which a Miao wedding is celebrated.

585 On the wedding day, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were very busy. All their relatives and friends gathered at their homes to offer congratulations. Cows and pigs were slaughtered. All day long, the bride's family particularly, was in a turmoil. Not until evening, however, did the principal part of the wedding ceremony begin. The bridegroom wore a long gown, a riding [292] jacket, socks, and shoes. His head was covered with a large pointed kerchief, which also covered most of his face, as if the bridegroom was very shy. He was carried out from his home on the back of a male go-between. Close behind them another man holding a wide open cloth umbrella to cover him followed step by step. They were preceded by another male go-between followed by a man who carried the wedding gifts. The wedding gifts consisted of wine and [439] tobacco leaves. The two go-betweens and the men who carried the umbrella and the wedding gifts were formally dressed in long gowns, riding jackets, socks, shoes, etc. After the bridegroom had come a few steps from out the door, the go-between at the front of the procession fired a few firecrackers and the procession paused. Not until they heard the explosion of the firecrackers set off by the bride's family did they continue to go ahead. (In this wedding, the two families happened to be close neighbors. The sound of the firecrackers could be heard from either side.) After they had walked halfway they stopped once more. In a moment two young girls sent ahead from the bride's family (called pan-niang, "bridesmaids")

/47 cont'd/

585 came forward to greet them. They then alternately walked and sang, and the umbrella carriers also sang in response to them. They all stopped walking while singing. In the intervals between singing they proceeded ahead for a few steps, then stopped and sang again. This process had been repeated four times before they reached a small house adjacent to the bride's home. /48/ While this wedding march was in process, the boys and girls looking on also had a good deal of fun. Some of them had encircled the go-between who walked at the head, asking for tobacco leaves; others—mostly girls—closely hemmed in the bridegroom, making fun of him, teasing him, striking him with their hands, or kicking him with their feet; some of them suddenly took away his kerchief and put a battered bamboo rain hat on his head. The bridegroom, however, remained like a wooden dummy without daring to move. Fortunately, he was protected by his male escorts, otherwise, he might have been torn apart.

After the bridegroom's party had reached the small house, the first part of the wedding ceremony was over. The small house had been previously rented /by the bride's family/ for 200 cash, but the owner of the house had to entertain the bridegroom and his escorts with a dinner of chicken and wine, costing more than the rent he received. Having finished their dinner in the small house, the go-betweens and the gift carrier, holding betel nuts in their hands (or using tobacco leaves as a substitute), went to the bride's house where their counterparts were ready waiting for them. There was a dinner with wine prepared on the table in one of the side rooms, and some friends and relatives of the bride's family had been invited to sit there to await the arrival of the bridegroom's party. The go-betweens walked up to the girl's house but stopped outside the door. Only one man was sent in to get admission from the guests at the feast. After awhile he returned and led the others into the room. After they were seated facing the guests invited by the bride's family, they drank toasts to each other. Then both sides sang back and forth. The singer from the bridegroom's family was the umbrella holder; that of the bride's party was one of the guests previously

/48 cont'd/
585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the
bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house.
It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act
began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there
to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very
humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the
two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then
carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The
order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bride-
groom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of
the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[532] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One
of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom
and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot
and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's
party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the
village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still
like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led
the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The in-
terior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of
the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a
pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was
a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-
nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine
cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set.
When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding
the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he
began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said
[763] that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of
the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the
room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at
the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/49 cont'd/

585 seated with the bridegroom in two rows facing each other. In a short time the bride was led out by a bridesmaid from the inner room and seated beside the bridegroom. Her head was also covered with a pointed kerchief which also covered half her face. After they were all seated, the bridesmaid and the go-betweens began offering wine to the bride and groom. After the wine they were offered the rice and pork liver. Then the go-betweens and the bridesmaid respectively took away the kerchiefs from the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom. As soon as their faces had been revealed, the couple immediately left their seats. The bridegroom hurried back to the small house and the bride to her room. The others, however, still continued to drink and sing for a long time before they dispersed. Later they gathered together in one of the side rooms. This time both men and women participated; they sang and drank till dawn.

The next morning the bride's family held a formal dinner in the side room to entertain all the guests. The bridegroom was led by one of the go-betweens to offer wine to each guest. At the same time one of the guests stood up and delivered a speech, the gist of which was advising the bridegroom to respect his elders, to work hard, to live a happy married life, to cooperate with his wife in the management of domestic affairs, etc. After listening to this advice, /50/ the bridegroom went into the main hall of the bride's house and offered wine to the elders and other members of the family. After this was done, he went directly to the bride's room but returned shortly to the small house to rest. What he did in the bride's room, I did not find out.

In the same afternoon the bride, escorted by a woman and
followed by a young girl who carried a bundle of her clothes on her
back, walked to the bridegroom's home. The bride was dressed as
follows: Holding a oiled-paper umbrella, she wore a new dress and
592 293 a round cap but was barefoot. In the bridegroom's home the scissors,
sickle, and charcoal were also set up in the same way as in the
bride's home the day before. Before entering the house, the bride

/*50 cont'd*/

585 stood outside the door waiting for a Taoist priest to perform the ritual before entering the house. After that she entered the house escorted by a woman. In the evening the bridegroom's family also held a dinner to entertain their relatives and friends, and that brought an end to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding was over, the two bridesmaids were each rewarded with 300 cash and three catties of pork. The cash was given by the bride's family and the pork by the bridegroom's.

On the morning of the third day, the new couple went back to
the bride's home; but on the fourth, they went over to the bride-
groom's home again and returned to the bride's home the day after.
585 Thereafter, the bridegroom remained in his wife's home and became
608 a member of her family, sharing all the privileges and obligations.
After the death of his parents-in-law, he may either move away
from his wife's family with his wife, or change his surname to that
of his father-in-law so that he becomes a member of that family
forever.

585 I did not have the opportunity to observe personally the manner in which the wedding of the *ch'ü-hsi* type is celebrated. However, it was said that it is entirely similar to the wedding of the *chao-chui* type except that the roles of the families of the man and woman are reversed.

587 There is no ceremony when a widow remarries, nor are there any betrothal gifts. When they decide to be married, the man merely furnishes a chicken, which they eat together, and the marriage is concluded.

There are some additional points worth noting about marriage among the Miao.

582 /*51*/ (1) Those who have the same surnames are not allowed to marry one another. However, if they are sure that they have no particular blood relationship but simply have the same surname, the marriage is sometimes permissable.

(2) The average age to marry for either sex is about twenty.

585 (3) The Miao people avoid getting married in the third month of the lunar year, when the cotton flower and a plant called *toon*

/51 cont'd/
585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the
year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in
the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of
a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family,
his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assist-
ance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood.
After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the
main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the
coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist
priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that
he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A
priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin.
It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different
paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's
children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by
four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians
and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave.
If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the
gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After
the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[769] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day
Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third
Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc.
While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the
burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary
before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao serv-
ice of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is
held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[793] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765
796 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports

527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered [782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/53 cont'd/

526 171 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

793 795 776 779 776 Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly influenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious ceremony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entirely different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng
Ti Szu
Younger sister Fu-ch'i
Ching Chu

Chiu Kuan
Kung Huang
An-t'an Ch'uan
Yü Huang
Chia Hsien

Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Chia Kuan
Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

779 /55/

776 San Tsu
Hsi-tao wu-shang
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a
Chao Shuai /General Chao/
Tou-fu San Kuan
Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/
Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/
Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a
Ma Shuai /General Ma/
Wu-shang-hui
P'in-pu-chi
Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. 532 Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the 779 ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

539 You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/55 cont'd/
779 While the worship-settling wine was served at eight tables,
539 The boys were singing the song of yüan-chang below the tables.
/56/ Has the personal story of Chiu-niang not been told?
Every spring has its source, and every flower has its root.
The wind was blowing from peak to peak;
The current of the water flooded over falls and falls.
Bought up by her parents, she was a clever child.
Niang was very calm and pretty.
Her eyes were as bright as the Seven Stars, and her eyebrows, were like the crescent moon.
Her face was as smooth as the paper made in the Easter Capital;
Her head and feet were equally beautiful.
The flowers she wore were as fresh as the morning stars in the eastern sky.
There was a san-shan cap on her head;
It was decorated with gold dust.
Her blouse was embroidered with pearls;
Her eight-piece silk slip was long enough to touch the floor.
Her elder brother's name was T'ang T'ai-pao;
He was a very handsome young man.
To her parents were born a boy and a girl before Niang.
She, T'ang Chiu-niang, was her parents' youngest child.
One morning she entered the garden;
Inspired by the lushness of the flowers, she pondered for a while.
Going through the Upper Village, there was not a handsome one;
Passing the Lower Village, there was not one gallant.
There was a cousin named Yang-erh who lived in the Middle Village;
He had a handsome bearing and a gallant personality.
Awakening at dawn the next morning,
She was waiting for him on the roadside where people passed carrying water.
There she met Cousin Yang-erh.
"Cousin Erh, please, listen to me.

/56 cont'd/
779 I have been waiting especially for you this morning;
539 I should like you to be my companion tonight."
/57/ "Listen to me," Yang-erh replied.
"If you are willing to think of me.
You are an excellent gown maker;
Make a pair of long gowns for me,
And a pair of short ones,
And a pair of under garments,
On which are embroidered a drake and duck with fine silk.
Were all my clothes made by you, Niang,
I would look fine and handsome."
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh;
"Listen to me, Cousin Erh,
Whatever food and wine you like, I have all ready in the kitchen.
I'll prepare the wine whenever you like.
The wine is the Ninth Month Wine,
That I will drink with you for remembrance."
Yang-erh then turned to Chiu-niang and said:
"Chiu-niang, please, listen to me:
'I won't drink the wine served in a gold cup,
I would like to taste it through your lips."
The East Hall was opened, set with tables and chairs.
Dragons, phoenixes, and drakes and ducks were displayed,
And Yang-erh was received in her home.
He was entertained with different dishes and wines.
Three kinds of food and five kinds of flavors were put on the table;
Boiled pork and choice fish were in the center.
Fruits were offered to him while they were drinking the first cup.
She took away his long robe while the second cup was served.
She became tipsy after the third cup was emptied.
Her face was as pink as a row of /red/ flowers;

/58/
779 He also became dizzy after the third cup
539 And went into the inner room to look for Chiu-niang.
The tables and dishes were taken away and the chairs were rearranged.
They went to the bedroom hand in hand.
After sitting a while in the inner room,
They both began undressing.
The long gown was hung up on the gold hook.
The short gown was hung on the beams of her bed.
The head kerchief was put on the bamboo clothes holder;
The shoes were put in her shoe box.
With both hands, he slid open her silk mosquito net,
And asked her where the double pillow was.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin Erh, why do you speak so thoughtlessly;
Before this, I have been a maid living in the inner room,
I don't know why I should have a double pillow."
During the first tien of the first keng they slept together,
Like a pair of bamboo.
During the second tien of the second keng he was sleeping by her feet,
Which looked like a pair of ivory combs.
They were sleeping so deeply during the third keng,
Just like two dead persons on the high bed.
The cocks began to crow during the fourth keng;
At the fifth keng, it seemed there were hundreds of flowers waving around them.
Chiu-niang then said to Cousin Yang-erh:
"Cousin, please, listen to me.
I have a golden cock which has not yet crowed.
My silver cock will report to me at dawn."
They kept sleeping on the same pillow, just like
A pair of blooming flowers.
/59/When Chiu-niang awoke it was dawn,
She asked Yang-erh to get dressed.

/59 cont'd/

779 She led him from the East Hall to the West Hall.
539 From the West Hall they reached the North Hall, which was too long,
Where they met her sister-in-law who said:
"You, sister-in-law, have had a man at home!"
Her brother also saw them.
Soon the neighbors gathered.
They arrested Yang-erh and put him in irons.
They fastened his legs with hemp ropes and iron locks.
They beat Yang-erh out of his skin.
The beating was so painful that
Yang-erh began to cry out and shout to Chiu-niang,
Who then came to her brother.
"Brother," she said, "please listen to me.
I saw you beating Yang-erh as if you were beating me.
You will violate the law if you beat Yang-erh to death.
Chiu-niang then began to think of a scheme;
Later she did hit upon one.
With her left hand, she took off her dragon-and-phoenix hair pin.
With her right hand, she set the granary afire.
Her brother turned away to fight the fire;
Niang then set her lover free to go home.
He was freed with a voiceless cry.
He was freed like a released lamb.
After Yang-erh had gone about three or five *li*,
Chiu-niang then called him back and said to him:
"You should prepare agates, pearls, and four pecks of silver.
Each peck containing eighty thousand pairs of cash.
/60/ You should save numerous strings of cash, and
I will go into exile with you never to return.
You should take up the silk clothes /business/.
You must not gamble to make me worry.
You must not amuse yourself in the brothels,
That will make you spiritually sick.

/60 cont'd/
779 There will be plenty of wine in the shop when you want to drink,
539 Soup and grain when you are hungry.
If you want to eat meat, please eat the finely cut parts;
Don't eat the bones which might choke you to death.
If you want to build a house, build a high one.
Don't build a low one for that would make other people jeer
at you.
To desire fine ladies is the habit of all men in the world,
But who else has a deeper heart than mine?"
They said good-by at the crossroad;
Chiu-niang returned to her room.
She was thinking of hanging herself;
Yet she had not taken leave of her parents.
First, she prayed: "My brother and his wife
Should take good care of our parents.
They must not serve cold rice to our father to eat;
They must not serve cold wine to our father to drink."
Second, she said farewell to the bamboo clothes holder:
"You will never again see your lady hanging up her clothes."
Third, she said good-by to the red silk mosquito net:
"You will never again see younger sister return to her room."
Fourth, she bade farewell to her scissors and measures:
"You will never see younger sister measuring and cutting cloth."
Fifth, she bade farewell to the seven red boxes:
"There will be no more clothes for you to carry."
/61/ Sixth, she prayed in farewell to the six relatives of the
nine lanes:
"Yoy will never again see younger sister walking about the
countryside.
You will never see her washing her face in the morning;
You will never see her come home at night."
Seventh, she bade farewell to the rivers and piers:
"You will never see her washing clothes."
Eight, she prayed in farewell to the family altar and incense:
"You will never see younger sister burn the incense sticks."

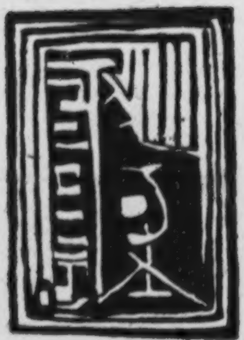
/61 cont'd/

779 Ninth, she prayed in farewell to her dear parents:
539 "Your daughter has committed suicide and entered the world of drunkards."
Finally, she prayed in farewell to gallant Cousin Yang-erh:
"We two will be separated forever!"
She hung herself during the first *keng*:
She was dead at the second.
In the third *keng*, her spirit appeared in a dream of her parents.
Her father was wakened by a nightmare.
Holding a lamp, he went to the room of younger sister.
At the first glance in her room, he saw her,
She was hanging from the high beam.
Lady T'ang began to cry.
Over and over, she called, "Chiu-niang."
Then she said, "Every girl in the world loves gallant young men;
Why shouldn't I think about /Chiu-niang/."
Then she began to call: "T'ang Tai-pao, my son.
Hurry up, take the long ladder and bring her down."
Her body was washed with incense perfume;
Dressed up in red silk clothes.
A coffin made of camphor wood was bought.
Chiu-niang's body was put into it.
The East Hall was cleaned up for her coffin.
The South Hall was used for the memorial service.
/62/ A geomancer was invited to look for a good grave site.
The wide road leading southward was a good place for spreading a reputation.
Her coffin was carried across the royal river of nine turns.
Her coffin was carried cross the royal river of nine turns.
She was buried at the entrance of the wide road to the south.
The tomb of the victim of love was seen by everybody who passed by.
The tomb was protected by a green dragon on the left;
And by a white tiger on the right.

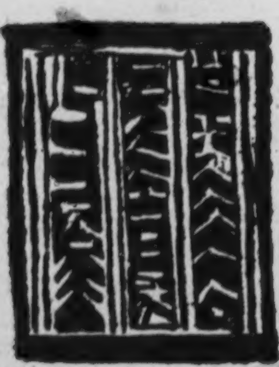
/62 cont'd/

779 539 Hundreds of birds bowed in front of it.
The goddess of jade protected her from behind.
When a Taoist priest passed by, he would repeat the name of Buddha;
When a Buddhist priest passed by, he would burn some incense.
When an old man of sixty passed by, he would say mournfully:
"What a pity that one so bright died young!"
When an old woman of sixty passed by, she might say sadly:
"What a pity one so bright did not live long!"
When a young fellow of eighteen passed by, he would murmur:
"Why am I not so lucky as to court a clever girl like her?"
When a young girl of eighteen passed by, she might say with grief,
"Why did such a clever girl have to be buried so young ?"
Men and women are kindly advised hereby,
If you have children, think early of their futures.
Should your neighbor to the east have a son, his marriage must not wait long!
Should your neighbor to the west have a daughter, must she not be married while young?
One must not follow the example of Sister Chiu of the T'ang family,
Without a husband, she died like a blossoming /rose/.
Chiu-niang is now here in person to bless those in front of the altar.
You, Chiu-niang, give your blessing to whoever is leading the horse.

779 195 The Taoist books of the Miao are mostly written in this poetic style with seven words in each line. They have nothing to do with the preaching of Taoism. This aspect is /63/ worthy of study. 793 795 Both the civilian and military Taoist priests use wooden seals inscribed with different symbols. The civilian Taoist priests have two rectangular seals of the same size, (See illustration). The military Taoist priests also have two wooden seals, one of which is inscribed with symbols similar to those of the civilian Taoist priests.

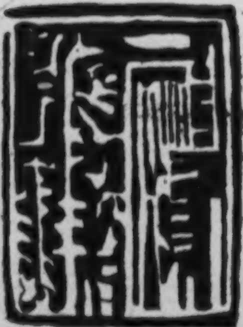


The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (1)



The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (1)

(The black part is raised, the white recessed.)



The Seal of the Civilian Taoist Priests (2)

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one. (See illustration).

796 793 /65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civilian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in both the *tso-chai* and the *chung-jen* chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

793 The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a *tso-chai* ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

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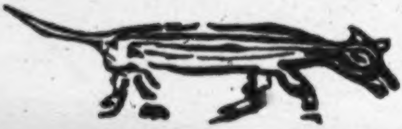
The Seal of the Military Taoist Priests (2)



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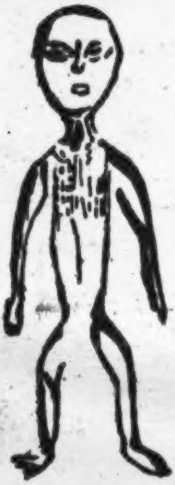
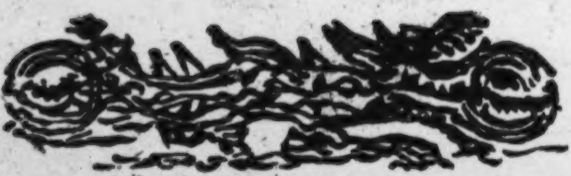


(a)



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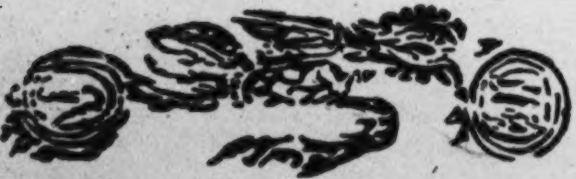

(d)

/65 cont'd/

793 several times and then put back on the ground. After that he was entertained with a meal and wine. Then they returned to the altar. The ceremony was now over.

The initiation ceremony of the civilian Taoist priests was similar to that of the military group. The only difference between them was that they did not have the part performed in the yard. Moreover, at the time the civilian priests chanted before the altar, when they kneeled down after chanting, they combed the hair of the candiate with a wooden comb, which was not done by the military priests.

793 554 /66/ After the Taoist initiation ceremony, the new priest was given a Taoist name. The names given by the two groups were entirely different. Either group, however, has a set of five characters any one of which is used as a prefix to another character in formulating a two-character name. The five characters of the civilian group were "Yin, Yün, Tao, Miao, and Wan," and those of the military group were "Ying, Sheng, Fa, Hsien, and Wan." The method of formulating a Taoist name was to put any one character after one of the five characters. For instance, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village was a civilian Taoist priest. His Taoist name was Yin-ts'ai. Thus every Taoist priest's name clearly indicates whether he is a civilian or military priest. Moreover, the order of the Taoist names is followed by father and son. As Lu Tsun-ying's Taoist name is Yin-ts'ai, his son's Taoist name would be Yün-X. His grandson's Taoist name would be Tao-X. At the end of the series, they start over again at the beginning. There is no age limit for the Taoist initiation. During the initiation ceremony which I observed there were five candiates, of whom the oldest was about twenty and the youngest one was a two- or three-year-old unweaned child who was carried by his mother. Right after the initiation the older ones begin to learn to chant the liturgies and to perform other ritual matters from the older priests, and after some time they could carry out their duties as priests. The younger ones have to wait for a period of years, before studying but once one is initiated, one is qualified to have the status of a Taoist priest.

/66 cont'd/

775 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
773 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society.
Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest
has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education,
and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with
it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families,
except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation
ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for
the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious
the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them
for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the
dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed
this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo."
Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance
here, which is worth noting. /68/

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in *feng-shui* /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the *chia-ch'ang*, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the *feng-shui* was not good there. He also pointed out how the *feng-shui* was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a *pao-ch'ang*,
756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice *feng-shui*. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of *feng-shui*, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between
152 human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man
533 and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express
their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a
long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness.
Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at
parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work,
they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing
to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and
happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between
a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to
long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the
words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important
in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually
584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.
533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in
groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the
singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented
singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way,
533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move
[571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a
fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each
other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/71 cont'd/

533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 571 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in religious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 538 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing. The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/72 cont'd/

539
Bringing in the Crops Song

241 Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

> * Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
> who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
> T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor forever.

553 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited
539 in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

(3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when
533 an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the
539 street, the following is frequently sung:

831 First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

533 Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
539 /73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this
831 world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if spring is here;

/73 cont'd/

533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write,
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[181] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky,—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/74 cont'd/

539 Who is leaving this noble land to return home.
631 In tears I am seeing my flower off;
My tears are hidden in my heart.
Third farewell to my young, romantic sweetheart,
Leaving this noble land, unmindful of herself.
Fourth farewell to my young, noble sweetheart.
Seeing my flower glib and clever, I cannot bear to let her go.
/75/ If you feel sick at heart... /obscure/
Why not come back when halfway, and you'll not have to worry any more!
Fifth farewell to my angel from heavenly T'ao-yüan /an Arcadia/.
With sad thoughts, my tears are falling on my breast.
For you, angel flower, I remained alive.
For you, my flower, I'll end my life.
Sixth farewell to my romantic one— with great pain in my heart.
My grief is piercing my heart like a sharp knife.
There is much danger on the road;
Take care of yourself, while you are far away.
Seventh farewell to my precious dragon flower—with great pain in my heart.
It is like fire burning in my breast.
If fire burned my breast, I would not wish to die.
But if I did not need you /?/, my dragon pearl, I would wish to die.
Eighth farewell to my precious flower, take care on the road.
Pairs of teardrops flow down my breast.
I feel pain in my heart that you are risking your life.
Come back when halfway, and you'll not need to worry anymore.
Ninth farewell to drake and duck*, wealth and fortune are split and scattered.

/75 cont'd/

/* Symbol of conjugal fidelity and
happiness. —Ed./

539
831

Every step forward on the road step by step separates us.
Dark leaves are falling off the flowers, birds are leaving
the trees.
Thinking sadly of my flower, I cannot bear to let her go.
Tenth farewell, the clouds and rain and the singing are
drifting away.
Together we happily dallied here in this place;
Now I am returning to my gloomy house, with tears in my
eyes.
Sorrow and depression will be found in the flowers and trees.
Farewell!
I think of our meeting again in the future.
I am staying here in my own native place.
I will wait for you for the next two or three years.
Farewell!
/76/ One day apart means ten thousand days' thinking of you.
After three years' waiting, heaven cannot bid over our wills:
The tie which our former lives predestined will bind us to
no more.

III. Riding through Wu-chou Fu on horseback,
Turning my head, I met the fairest one.
Together we were so happy after I met my fairest one with
goose-shaped brows.
At night I looked at the five planetary gods /i.e., the stars/,
and bowed,
That wealth might befall heaven's gate before the trip,
And gently drop thirteen points better than my own wish.
Water flowed down our faces as we parted /?/.
Separating from my flower, we shall not meet again in this
age.
Best wishes to you, my flower, the Goddess of Mercy,

/76 cont'd/

539 Like the clouds drifting and turning away from the hills.
831 Clouds leaving the hills, my thoughts are endless.
Thinking of you, I feel empty and lost that we shall meet no more.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Hsien-pei seeing off Ying-t'ai,
Ying-t'ai returned to the Jen-ch'a mountains.
But Hsien-pei grieved to death for his flower.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Tou-nü /"bean girl"/ bidding farewell to Mi-shen /god of rice/,
Mi-shen was bewitched by Tou-nü;
But Tou-nü changed her heart and married another.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shih-nü /"tenth girl"/ bidding farewell to T'ang-hsien,
T'ang-hsien went to the capital and was appointed to the office of hsiao-kuan.
And on the way back he met Tuan-yang-ch'un.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like San-nü /"third girl"/ bidding farewell to Han-p'ing.
/77/ Han-p'ing died for San-nü,
As Tsung-huang lost his head because of covetousness.
Farewell, my precious one,
Like Shao-nü /"young girl"/ taking leave of Wen-lung,
I hope that you will remain as fair as Shao-nü.
Like Tung-yung taking leave of Yang-ch'un,
Who sold his body to bury his parents.
I wish I could sell my body at my precious one's native place.
Farewell, my fairest, the autumn lotus.
We shall pursue different roads on our way;
" " " " " " " ".
The moon splits into two parts to return to her path.
Farewell!
With the brush in my hand I'll paint you;

/77 cont'd/

539
831

The picture will be so exactly like you, your face and your brows.
Thinking of you, I'll look at it from time to time.
Farewell!
I'll write about my deep feelings on the Pa-hsien desk;
Writing often will somehow quiet my feelings.
I will not write my verses in double lines.
Clouds and rain bid my autumn lotus away;
Like drawing the knife to cut through the binding vines.
Cutting the vines into two will not cut my fairest from me—
The autumn lotus will resist the cutting without anyone knowing it.
Farewell!
They say my flower hastens past the mountain,
/The next two lines are too obscure to be translated. —Ed./
Farewell, my flower!
Seeing my flower off past Shih-huang,
/78/ Seeing my flower off just past Shih-huang,
Shih-huang draws his hands and does not turn his head.

539
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(4) Songs sung and answered by the hosts and the guests, taking reciprocal turns, at wedding feasts, are showin in the following several sections:

I. Many thanks to the p'ing-tung /go-between/ who matched this couple.
They have come here today and have met in front of this table.
Carried by ts'ai-huo from Tien-men, village,
They arrived at the bridge; their arrival was announced by the eight carriers.
They passed over the bridge without turning.
Their horoscopes were destined by Heaven.
The alliance was checked in the Wen-ch'ü-an, /?/
They did know that it was stated that they too should meet.
They were not then drake and duck /yüan-yang/ at the House of Yüan-yang.

/78 cont'd/
585 But they are now judged to be yüan-yang on this earth.
539 Now they are going back to the House of Yüan-yang,
To sit and decide whereto they should fly together.
/Two lines omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The Dipper and its seven stars together give them judgment;
The Southern Dipper and its six stars will fly with them,
To go and visit the chuang-yüan /In China the leading graduate of the Hanlin Academy/—and with much eloquence on their lips.
The book with tzu-wei /name of a constellation?/ will record all this.
/Song II omitted because of obscurity in meaning.—Tr./

/79/III. Tonight we have the mighty dragons as our guests.
We have no golden tables and polished chairs for them to sit on.
Chairs made of white wood will have to do for the officials to sit on.
They will have to sit here before bare tables.
See the officials have arrived!
See the officials come in through the door!
See the officials, so witty, sit at the tables!
We have no golden tables nor polished chairs for them.
Good water from the well!
The water from the well flows clear and clean in all directions:
One flows down the green-silk hall,
And the other flows down the tower of the Noble Gate.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the dragons face to face.
We are poor people and we have nothing to offer;
We have to serve cold water as tea for the mighty dragons.
We are a humble family;
We are poor and miserable and have nothing good to eat.
As for a drink, we have neither tea nor wine.
Don't let us offend the honored ones.

/79 cont'd/

539 If the wine is not good,
585 If is like offering well water to officials.
Cold water is offered to the noble officials to drink.
One cup will make the officials feel good.
This is a humble family without golden wine cups.
White stones placed in a line on the table will be the cups;
White stones as cups are not right—
They will not look in line, no matter how you put them on the table.
/80/ We have no golden wine cups; we have only earthenware.
Nor have we golden tables or polished chairs for you.
The officials have red sedans with polished chairs.
We are poor and miserable and cannot afford all this.
We offer drinks to the noble officials with our hands.
After one cup, they will feel good.
We know you honorable ones are disgusted with the taste of our wine;
We know you are disgusted with our rough hands.
You are grumbling because we cannot afford to offer big baked cakes.
Grape myrtle /?/ and green vegetables are placed on the table.
" " " " " " " " " "

Plain vegetables on the table are tasteless—even with salt.
We are miserable!
We think of whatever we can do—our humble hearts are good. /?/
The kindness of the dragon's heart is shown more than when he is in his palace;
It is our rare honor to have them come to our feast.
Not good to hear!
It is not good to offend the tigers face to face.
On these big, bare tables we can offer nothing.
It is like the eastern sea cutting off the sandy net. /?/
We cannot give the honored ones everything.
Ashamed that our lowly family has not yet established a house—

/80 cont'd/

539 Without tables, without chairs, we are not yet established,
585 Without bowls and without plates, there is nothing we can put on the tables in lines or rows.
Rice is served!
We offer rice to the honorable officials with our humble hands.
/81/ The honorable ones who have come here have no chairs to sit on,
Like swallows sitting on a crossbeam,
And falling on the ground, the noble ones get hurt.
Their clothes are torn, making them feel bad.
Our family is poor and has no golden chopsticks.
Green bamboo and polished chopsticks we offer to the officials to hold.
Red sedans and golden chopsticks are in Kwangtung—
They are too rare to fall into our hands.
The honorable and witty officials have come from a long distance,
And sit here now as if before bare tables.
Before bare tables, with no wine to drink,
Your hearts are becoming unfriendly.
In the hall five tables /...obscure/ are used up,
Like six pairs of drakes and ducks joined together.
In the hall a group of stars are now sitting at the tables,
...to wish fortune to the family.
When one goes into the woods to cut some bamboo, one stirs the trees.
When one goes down to the water to draw out the fish nets, one arouses the dragon.
First, may our landlords' houses have riches and honor,
May strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed.
May all our landlords enjoy long life,
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu*.

/* The Methuselah of China./

/81 cont'd/

539 585 Second, may our masters seek to become immortals.
Once one cultivates Buddhist immortality, it will lead to becoming chuang-yüan /highest graduate of the Hanlin Academy/.
A chuang-yüan's virtue is seen seeking the way to immortality.
And each man will be seen as naturally intelligent.
Third, may our masters' houses be favored with riches and honor,
May their stalls be full of livestock: pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses;
And when they are released from the stalls,
May no eagles, birds, or big snakes dare to touch them. /82/
Fourth, may our masters have long lives,
Long lives like P'eng Tsu's.
P'eng Tsu, many years; our masters, many years!
P'eng Tsu, many springs; our masters, many springs!
Fifth, when our masters sow their seeds,
May the crops grow and multiply five-fold.
Flourishing so that every year nine granaries of grain will be harvested.
Sixth, as our masters pass on the mountain roads,
And arrive at the yellow mountain,
May the mountain horses and yellow deer reach it,
Climbing with all four feet without faltering.
Seventh, when our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets;
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
Eighth, may our masters enjoy long life—
Lives as long as green silk stretching over a hundred thousand feet long;
May you talk with eloquence to the judge in the other world,
So that no sickness nor evil spirits will dare to befall your families.

/82 cont'd/

539 Ninth, may our masters' work in burning be successful,
585 So that each /?/ year light will appear at the shrines,
And fields will be bright without ploughing,
And your sons will grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
Tenth, may all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials.
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans
May the high families before us be endlessly blessed,
So that we small stars facing them will not know how to act, /83/
And bamboos and firecrackers break forth the good tidings to old and young.
/This next line is obscure./
Eleventh, may our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
Twelfth, may you rise to a new office as a distinguished official of the highest degree,
With five boys and five girls lined up before you,
With your pigs producing dragons and your hens producing phoenixes,
With people, tens of thousands of them, under your office.
Three steps forward, three steps backward;
Three steps backward, the wedding will be over.
Two young branches with pure thoughts
Pray that you go up to the ... tables
That all the stars will be seated
And hasten to eat and drink tea.
With hands on our breasts we thank the distinguished ones.
All the stars are now leaving to have a walk outside,
Strolling in a line, two in a row.
We have great feeling for you at the moment you pass by here.

/83 cont'd/

539
585 IV. All the various officials have been wandering about looking for the moon.
We have found the moon.
We have had the luck to receive their honorable favor.
When first we were summoned,
It was somewhat like the eastern capital summoning us to the moon.
This is a wedding matched by the six points.
Coming into this flower place, we look around,
And hope the son of heaven /the hosts/ will guide our steps.
We come into the autumn (...) bamboo tree mountain,
We come into the Tower of the Noble Gate,
/84/ The Tower of the Noble Gate is so well furnished,
Polished chairs line up on the four sides.
Our hosts offers us the best white rice—
Placed on the table, its fragrance spreads over the whole feast.
Even before eating it, one feels good in the heart.
Our honorable host's family has riches and honor.
Gold bowls and silver cups confront us.
This is like the occasion in the palace of the Jade Emperor at Peking—
Dragons and phoenixes in lines and rows shining all over the sky.
Our hosts offer us the best golden chopsticks—
Their ends and tips are coated with gold,
Glittering and brightening all the corners of the hall.
Our hosts' house has riches and honor.
The bright table in front shines up toward the sky.
This is like the city river at I-fu,
With dragons and phoenixes in rows and lines reddening the four sides with brightness.
Our hosts have everything, thousands and tens of thousands.
Gold wine cups are placed in lines on the feast tables,
This is like the dazzling stars appearing in the sky.

/84 cont'd/

539 Wine placed in them gives off a bouquet reaching the sky.
585 Our hosts have the best of wine and rice;
Placed on the feast tables, its fragrance reaches everywhere—
Its fragrance reaches a distance of four li,
It can be compared to the dragon's liver....
For two years they prepared for the southern stars.
Our hosts, honorable and rich, sit by the line of tables,
Offering us rice and drink out of golden bowls.
All the stars feel good after drinking so much. /85/
/Two lines omitted here because of omissions in the text./
Golden vases are placed at the line of tables,
In rows and pairs to match the heavenly stars.
Our host has many riches and much honor
The bouquet of the jade wine and the gold cups spreads over the whole feast
Having drunk it this year is an immense pleasure.
The bouquet will grace our mouths for sixty years.
To travel by horseback to the drake and duck
Is like receiving the courtesy and hospitality of a Literary Chancellor.
We very much hope that the honorable ones will guide us in our manners,
And lead us around the four corners with open hands.
The Southern Dipper and the Six Ranks all appear here.
All have come to pay a visit at the Hall of the Son of Heaven.
Officials have come on foot to visit the learned ones;
We have come from a distance for the wedding.
Letting loose the horses and holding a pearl, we enter the hall.
When the new officials are published before the emperor,
On the list will be clearly listed all of you,
To be entered and commented on forever.
We very much hope all the stars /hosts/ will guide us in our manners,

/85 cont'd/

539
585
Like the bright moon guiding the stars in roaming around.
Endless words and phrases cannot be exhausted to express
our feelings,
For getting the stars back in the mazy river /of heaven/.
If so many high and wise ones will condescend to hear us:
We draw our hands to give our wishes for the coming winter
and the four seasons.
We all give our wishes for the coming winter and the four
seasons.
May sickness and evil spirits dare not come to your house,
/86/ And every season of each year may safely befall you,
And may you have lives as long as green silk stretching over
ten thousand feet long.
May riches and honor come to our landlords,
And strings of cash be piled up in rows at the head of the bed,
Precious things in gold caskets at the head of the bed.
And may silken cloth and satin embroideries fill the whole
hall.
Moreover, riches and honor to our landlords,
Riches and honor greater than Shih Tsung's,
And may our landlords have everything that can be had,
And for ten thousand years may they be known as wise.
Moreover, may our masters seek to become immortals.
In the other world the chuang yüan /the highest graduate/
will be at peace in the former heaven /Taoist term for
previous existence/.
The T'ien Shih /"heavenly teacher," a term for the head of
the Taoist sect/ will mark this on his golden list.
Divine powers will carry the spirit to the Jade Palace.
Riches and honor to our masters' house.
May herds of cows and horses multiply in all the stalls.
When they are released from the stalls to go outdoors,
May no eagles, birds, and great snakes dare to touch them.
Long life to our masters—
A long life like that of P'eng Tsu, who lived so long.

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials,
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 585 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/

553 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part
585 mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The
[571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of
the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest
533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has
come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to
assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge
Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them
off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible. —Tr./

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
538 the first kind, take the following words:

534 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/89 cont'd/

533 539 Jen hua /people say/ O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — tu ch'uan /rowing a boat/ — pu k'an /ignoring/ — clo shui /water/ — ā hā — hum — yin chiu /drinking/ — clà t'an /as one wants/ — to /much/ — yeh shih /is/ — hsien /waste/ — O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hum — tu ch'uan — pu k'an — clà shui — tī hā — hum — yin chiu — t'an to O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — shih — hsien — yeh /particle of emphasis/ — shih — hsien — hā

/90/ Every two lines make up one unit in the song. Each unit is always sung as above, but a short pause is given between units.

Songs of the second kind are sung in the following two ways:

(a) Take the following words:

"Fen li le, yi szu tsai hou te hsiang feng." /Farewell, I am thinking that we shall meet again in the future./ They are sung in the following manner:

Fen li le /farewell/ — a hā — hum — yi szu /thinking/ — tsai /in the/ — hou /future/ — te /get to/ — hsiang /each other/ — feng /meet/ — hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hum — fen li clo — le tī hā — hum — yi szu — tsai hou O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hsiang — feng — te — hsiang — feng — hā —

(b) Take the following words:

"Sung hua ch'ü, wu yün sung yüeh kuo t'ien hsin."

/Seeing off my flower, (as) the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky./

They are sung in the following manner:

Sung /see off/ — hua /flower/ clo — ch'ü /go/ ā hā — hum — wu /dark/ yün /clouds/ — sung /see off/ lo — yüeh (moon) — kuo /across/ — t'ien /sky/ — hsin /heart/ — hoy — sung hua clo — ch'ü tī O hā — hum — wu yün sung yüeh O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — t'ien hsin — kuo — t'ien hsin — hā —

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be re-
539
773 corded as follows:

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

/92/

539
773

You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began to sing,
To sing the song of the little girl of Fu-chi:
There is in the official records of the olden days: thunder fell to the ground.
Honorable Chang with his feet kept it in the heart of Ts'ang.
Honorable Thunder said to Honorable Chang:
"Take a basin of water and wash yourself all over.
Take a basin of water and ... all over.
I think it will work to get me out of the heart of Ts'ang."
When Honorable Thunder finally got out of Ts'ang,
He offered his teeth to acknowledge the favor.
The teeth he granted were the seeds of felicity —
In three generations all debts were redeemed.
Then there were a brother and his younger sister to whom Honorable Thunder said:
"Take a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove."
They took a knife with sharpened edge and put it in the heart of the stove.
Then they carried wood and water and put them into the heart of the stove.
When they had filled the stove with wood and water,
They had a dream that in the east there rose a cloud.
The cloud did not seem like a cloud,
It truly was an extraordinary cloud.
Rain fell for seven days and seven nights.
For seven days and seven nights it darkened heaven and earth.
For seven days and seven nights the Flood rose.
The stove was thrown up to the level of heaven.
After seven days and seven nights the Flood subsided;
And the stove fell into the Koulkun Mountains.
Next morning they got up early.

/92 cont'd/

539
773

They had seen in a dream that there was peace but there were no men.
/93/ When they walked past the foot of the /Koulkun/ Mountains,
They met Green Bamboo in the woods.
Then the brother and his younger sister inquired of Green Bamboo:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Green Bamboo replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,
As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Green Bamboo's root with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Green Bamboo, grow together as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If you do not grow whole again,
The world will certainly be without mankind."
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the body of Mr. Green Bamboo:
Originally he was without nodes and joints —
Now one will see the scars left by the sister's sword.
Next morning they got up early.
As the cock crowed they ate breakfast, then again went into the woods.
There they inquired of Tortoise:
"Are there any people in the world?"
To the brother and sister Tortoise replied:
"There is not a single man in the world,
There is not a single ghost in heaven,
And there is not a single soul on earth,

/93 cont'd/
539 As all men in the world were drowned by the flood."
773 He earnestly proposed that the brother and sister should become man and wife.
/94/ But the brother and sister were offended.
They chopped Tortoise with a big sword, and said:
"If you, Tortoise, grow whole as before,
We, brother and sister, will get married and become man and wife.
If one walks past the foot of the Koulkun Mountains,
One will see the reborn body of Tortoise:
Originally he had a smooth and shining shell —
Now one will see the sword scars there.
Then the hearts of the brother and sister were still unwilling.
They bought and burned incense whose fume rose up to the clouds.
They burned incense in two places;
The fumes of the two crossed and reached the heart of the sky.
They made a vow that they, brother and sister, would become man and wife,
And their marriage lasted spring after spring,
For three and five years as man and wife.
For three and five years they had no child.
Then they gave birth to a lump of blood.
They thought of a plan to make mankind from it.
They made people under three hundred and sixty surnames.
Half of them were officials and the other half were common people.
Mankind did not have rice to eat:
They ate leaves of trees and hearts of rattan.
Mankind did not have clothes to wear:
They used leaves of trees to make gowns and skirts /i.e., women's clothes/.
There were more men than women:
That is why there are bachelors in the world today.
There was once a mouse at the top of Tzu-wei Mountain.

/94 cont'd/

539 He was looking around with a seed of grain in his mouth.
773 Shen Nung /legendary emperor, supposed teacher of husbandry/
took the seed and planted it.
That was the origin of grain.
/95/ That is why today there is enough to eat in the world,
Passed straight down for generations to the present.
Now whosoever believes in him will prosper.
Looking beyond the high mountains the sacred divine one
will return.
Shen Nung will arrive at the temple to guard and bless us in
person,
To protect us from calamities from heaven and eradicate
suffering and ills according to the heart of heaven.
You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! the drum is tuned to Yang.
P'an Ku /legendary being who created the universe/ descends
to the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Ch'ing-tsao Temple.
Because respect was bestowed on you by the masters, you
were invited to sing your first graces.
At the words of invitation,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the scene of the
aerials.
You dismounted in front of the Heavenly Hall.
You were received at the royal feast to sing your first graces.
You entered the feast and received a drink of An-ch'ih wine,
And sat at the feast and began to sing your first graces.
You looked at the Emperor and the Empress before you began
to sing,
To sing of P'an Ku himself.
In the old, old times Emperor P'an Ku
Opened up the first day, in the person of P'an Ku himself.
There was not yet heaven nor earth,
No sun, no moon, nor that which is between heaven and earth.
But there was first the Jade Emperor, as it was told by P'an Ku.

/95 cont'd/

539 "The Jade Emperor and I were produced together.
773 We were not reared by a father and mother.
But we were born out of many-colored dark clouds.
The Jade Emperor evolved many changes in heaven.
He created heaven, earth, and all that which is between heaven and earth.
/96/ The Jade Emperor has three hundred and six transformations of his eyes.
P'an Ku had three hundred and six transformations of his body.
The left eye became the sun;
The right eye became the moon.
The earth on top of the mountains are what was on his head.
The fish in the deep waters are what was his liver and heart.
His teeth became money and jewels.
And his bones became great rocks.
His flesh became golden earth.
His red blood became flowing water in the rivers.
His fingernails became trees in the mountains.
His hands and feet became stars.
His stomach and entrails became the nine bright pearls.
His feet and toes became ponds and pools in the fields.
And the bones and flesh in his whole body were all changed,
The stars and trees were from his body.
Today he comes here to bless us in person,
To eradicate sickness and calamities according to the heart of heaven. (End)

539 (b) Song to be sung at the temple. (The following song is in the form of questions and answers. The words in the parentheses are the answering parts.)

(The first part of the song is omitted here.)

Who opened the sky and established the earth? (Prince P'an)
How many pillars were used in making heaven and earth? (Five)
How many chang between heaven and earth? (Ninety thousand)

/96 cont'd/

How many chang (Ninety thousand) to heaven and how many wide? (Ninety thousand)
What countries are eight days to the east?
How many provinces are eight days to the south?
How many countries are eight days to the west?
How many people are in the provinces of the eight days to the north?
/97/ How many stars appear in the central sky?
We ask you, officials, to let us know.
We ask you what year was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
Which year was it when the flood subsided?
In the beginning how many emperors (Five) crossed the oceans.
Where (The transformed corpse of Buddha after death) did the branches begin to divide?
Which emperor (Li) was born in which palace? (T'ang)
Where did he succeed and how well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which emperor's (P'an's) rule?
Which emperor (P'an) was capable of ruling the world?
Which emperor (P'an) delimited boundaries at which place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many paths (Five) and established what custom? (Marriage)
Which prince (P'an) first established this ceremony?
When it was set up in the world, what was sought? (Descendants)
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothed couples, who (Grandson Lü) made it?
What was it made for on this earth? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes how many characters (Five) are offered...?
When this is done, the characters set up what? (Marriage)
When Emperor P'an was born who brought him up? (Wu...)
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
Emperor P'an married what family's (Hsien) daughter?

/97 cont'd/

539 Who (Prince P'ing) arrived at making what (Go-between) custom?
The sacred register was produced in what (T'ang) dynasty?
In which dynasty (Ch'ing) was set up what custom? (Wang Ch'ien)
On what day did the wedding of the Emperor P'an take place?
When was the couple united?
How many (Five) daughters were born to Emperor P'an?
Then /he beckoned for marriage into his family/ what gentleman (Shan-ju) of how many surnames? (Five)
/98/ The first daughter married what surname? (Teng)
The second daughter married what family's young man? (Chiang)
The third daughter married what surname? (Chao)
The fourth daughter married what family's young man? (Li)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how long are parents cared for?
Prince P'an in his lifetime lived how many years? (Five hundred)
Graciously added were how many (Six) tens of springs?
When Emperor P'an made the world, what kind did he make?
He made what kind (Heaven and earth) and set up what custom? (Marriage)
When he made metals, wood, water, fire, and earth,
How did he have being born and dying?
From what (Hair) did he make the Huang-mao Mountains
From what (Bones) did he make Ta-shih /"great stone"/ Mountain?
From what (Hands) did he produce mountain bamboo?
From what (The viscera) did he make mountain rattan?
Who (The Jade Emperor) decided on the rules governing heaven and earth?

/98 cont'd/

539 Who (T'ien Shih*) first settled peace in the world?

/* "heavenly teacher," head of the
Taoist sect. —Ed./

In the beginning what (P'ing) prince first sat in the palace?
He sat in what chou /district/? (Peking)
He ruled in what dynasty? (T'ang dynasty)
Emperor P'an delimited boundaries in what place? (Fu-tsu Mountains)
How many (Five) paths were opened up and what custom was established? (Marriage)
We ask you what year (The first year of Chia-tzu) did Ko-tou /?"singing bean"/ die?
Who (Hsien, "immortal") took him and buried him on what mountain?
He was buried on what (Nan, "south") mountain facing what direction?
How many (Five) hundreds of mud bricks were put up in a heap?
/99/ Talk of ancient times is endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

539
173 (c) (The name of this song has been lost; it is also of the question and answer form.)

(Preceding part omitted.)

When heaven was opened and earth established, who did it?
When heaven and earth were made, how many pillars were there?
How many chang were there between heaven and earth?
How many chang to heaven, how many chang wide?
There was both birth and death.
Eight days to the east are what kind of countries?
Eight days to the south are what kinds of gates /?/ ?
Eight days to the west are what kinds of countries?
Eight doors to the north are what kinds of gates?

/99 cont'd/

539 Flowing from the center, how many stars appear?
173 We ask you, Spring Officials, let us know.
We ask you when was the flood?
Under which emperor were the people killed by the flood?
We ask you in which year (The first year of Chia-tze) did the flood subside?
It flowed in what direction? (Koulkun Mts.)
In the beginning how many (Five) princes crossed the oceans?
Where (Transformed corpse) did the branches begin to divide?
What (P'an) prince was born in what palace? (Me-shui Palace)
Where did he succeed (Ch'ing Dynasty) and how (Ten thousand soldiers) well?
Which emperor (Li) fulfilled which (P'an) emperor's rule?
Which (P'an) emperor was capable of ruling the world?
Which (P'an) emperor delimited boundaries at what place? (Fu-tze Mts.)
He opened up how many (Five) paths, and established what custom? (Marriage)
/100/ In the beginning this rule was made by whom? (Emperor P'an)
When it was set up in the world, who (Descendants) was sought?
As for the system of matching horoscopes of betrothal couples, who (Lü Tsai) devised it?
When it was devised in the world, it concluded what custom? (Marriage)
When matching horoscopes, how many (Seven) characters are offered...?
When this is done, how many (Eight) characters conclude what custom? (Marriage)
As for Emperor P'an, who (Wu-yün) brought him up in the beginning?
He was brought up in what place? (Ch'u Hsien)
The sacred register was produced in what dynasty? (Ch'ing)
Which (Ch'ing) dynasty set up what custom? (Imperial Gate)
Emperor P'an married what (Hsien) family's daughter?

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 538 173 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a), is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another
interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This is not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539
173 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/101 cont'd/

539 773 they were children of a dog. One day /102/ when the dog, feeling lazy, did not go to the mountains to hunt, he was beaten by the two children. Upon this, their mother scolded them severely and told them the truth. She said that they were born of her union with the dog and that the dog was in fact their father. She further told them that since they were children of a dog, nobody would ever want to marry them. It was thus wise that they should marry each other in order to continue the line. After the brother and sister were married, they had two boys. When they grew up, the two boys were not able to get along with each other and often quarreled. Their mother became disgusted and drove them out. One fled up to the mountain, and the other down to the sea. The one who went up the mountain became the ancestor of the Miao; the one who went down to the sea became the ancestor of the Tanka /boat people of Canton/. Henceforth, the descendants of these two groups have not walked on the prince's land nor paid taxes.

773 This legend gives us a picture of how the ancestors of the Miao were symbolically conceived of by them (i.e., born of a dog), what kind of economic life they led at the beginning (i.e., hunting), and what kind of marriages between those of the same blood originally existed among them (i.e., marriage between brother and sister), and also what the relationship between the two groups, Miao and Tanka, was like, etc. What important implications all this revealed to us in our study of the Miao social system!

538 As regard to the legends which were brought to the Miao from outside, these are numerous. Due to limited space here, only the following sample, which consists of a section of the sad and romantic story of a Mr. Yen Hui and a Miss Chang Meng-wo is given here:

539 The Ancient Song of Meng-wo

Speaking at leisure of old tales and books,
Let me sing the story of Meng-wo.
Thousands of other old tales have been told over and over
again,
Let me sing now the story of Meng-wo:

/102 cont'd/
539 Mr. Chang lived in a place both high and low.
He lived in a place named Chang Pai Ch'ang.
The family had three thousand strings of cash .
East, west, south, and north they had established farms.
/103/ Mr. Chang had no son but had two daughters.
The two of them made a couple, which excelled any son:
The elder daughter was named Precious Gem;
And the younger one was named Chang Meng-wo.
The elder one had natural skill in weaving thin brocade embroidery;
The younger one had natural skill in weaning silk gauze.
They wove the Yellow River with nine turns.
They wove ducks and drakes paired with male and female phoenixes.
They wove male and female unicorns paired with lions.
They wove fierce tigers paired with leopards.
When their needlework was compared,
The tapestry was no better than the silk gauze.
Everything that was woven by them was real:
It is good art to write like the teacher and to render the tiger real.
594 The elder daughter was married at eighteen to a secretary of state.
539 The younger at fifteen left her parents.
When Meng-wo was about seventeen or eighteen,
She had never stepped outside the front door.
Now in the Upper Village there was a knowledgable old woman named Huang.
She wrote out young girls' fortunes and acted as a go-between.
She wrote out fortunes in all the chous /districts/.
In the nine chous and ten districts /hsien/, she was without parallel in this.
She came then to try her book, at the house of the young gentleman Yen,
Who was highly literate and knew the Three-Character Classic by heart.

/103 cont'd/

539
584
People say it was in the third month when flowers bloom in wild profusion.
The two sisters wanted to go out to look at the fragrant flowers.
This morning they did now know what their fate would be during the year.
The two bowed deeply and said:
"If you, father and mother, give us the word,
We 'll go back to comb and dress ourselves.
/104/ If you, father and mother, do not give us permission,
We shall not dare go out the door."
Their father and mother replied:
"Listen to what we say, daughters,
When you go, take your horoscopes.
Go together and come home early, both of you."
Upon these words from the mouths of their father and mother,
They went to comb and dress themselves up for the trip.
Their hairdo had been in the style of a coiling dragon's moustache;
Now they made one of the style named "Looking for a Husband."
They looked in the bronze mirror placed in front of them.
Their faces were like that of the young girl of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Long and short golden hairpins were inserted all over the hair,
Well stuck in on the four sides, high and up.
They walked like Kuan Yin /Goddess of Mercy/ when about to come out from the sea,
And sat like the immortal of the village in the Peach Paradise.
Passing through the east street to the south street,
Across the west street and back from the north street,
And at the crossroads and thoroughfares,
Their looks excelled that of all the people in the whole district of Tuan-lieh.
The district of Tuan-chou did not have /sic/ thousands and tens of thousands,

/104 cont'd/
539 But only Meng-wo's looks stood out.
584 Walking further they came to a flower garden village.
Behold, flowers flourished on the trees,
They saw tender peach blossoms just opened up.
Half of the leaves on the trees were green, and the other
half yellow.
Yellow bees pierced the flowers in pairs,
Butterflies sojourned on trees in couples.
Yen Hui, attired in finely embroidered silk and satin,
Passed by on horseback and saw Meng-wo.
/105/ "Little girl, whose family do you come from?
What do your father and mother call you?"
Meng-wo replied to Yen Hui,
"Hsiu tsai*, please listen to my words.

/* A graduate of the former first degree
in the Chinese examination system./

My father is called Elder Chang,
He produced me as the little girl named Chang Meng-wo.
May I inquire hsiu tsai's honorable name?
What is your order in the family?"
Yen Hui replied to Meng-wo, saying:
"Beautiful one, please listen to my words,
I am the third son of the Hui family.
I have come here to have a look at the flowers."
They did not dare to tarry too long in the garden of flowers,
They returned to their respective homes.
Their affinity had been set in a previous life,
Now they met as drake and duck.
Returning home and sitting in his private room,
Yen Hui began to think in his heart,
During the day he thought endlessly and did not eat.
At night he thought endlessly and could not sleep.
Mr. Yen, hearing of his son's tears,

/105 cont'd/
539 Talked the matter over with his wife.
584 "We have brought you up to an adult, Yen Hui.
A man's life is like the autumn grass."
Yen Hui immediately replied:
"Father, please listen to my words.
If you want me to marry someone, don't choose a girl from
another family.
I wish to take pretty Chang Meng-wo."
To this Mr. Yen immediately replied:
"My son, please listen to my words.
/106/ Man and wife are predestined in the previouls life.
What is regulated in the previous life determines a couple.
If it is predestined, you will meet each other.
If it is not predestined, the two of you will part."
Yen Hui replied to his father and mother,
"Father, listen to my words.
If I can have the Chang family's daughter,
I am willing to die on the third day."
Hearing these words, Mr. Yen began to think in his heart.
The next morning he called for the old woman Huang.
And asked the old woman Huang to act as go-between.
He asked that the old woman Huang hurry,
And go to the house of Chang to act as go-between.
She went to Mr. Chang's and sat in the doorway.
Mr. Chang invited her into the upper hall.
And asked the old woman Huang to sit down in the upper hall.
Tea and boiling soup were prepared in the kitchen.
After the tea came and before they had drunk three cups,
Then the old woman Huang began to talk.
"What have you come here about, old woman Huang?"
The old woman Huang blushed as she was about to speak.
Mr. Chang said to the old woman Huang:
"Whatever you have to say, please do so freely."
The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang:
"Please listen to my words.

/106 cont'd/

539 People say that your family has a daughter,
584 Who is now at the proper age of eighteen."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang:
"If the horoscopes are in harmony, then a union may be made."
/107/ The old woman Huang replied to Mr. Chang, saying:
"There are also the betrothal gifts which should come in pairs of gold and silver."
Mr. Chang replied to the old woman Huang, saying:
"Please listen to my words.
First, there must be five hundred strings of copper coins.
Second, there must be three pecks of pearls.
Third, there must be fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
Fourth, there must be fifty pairs of spun silks.
Fifth, there must be fifty pairs of gold hens.
Sixth, there must be ten pairs of dragon geese.
Seventh, there must be fifty pairs of large pigs.
Eighth, there must be fifty pairs of silky sheep.
Ninth, there must be thirty-six containers /?/ of wine.
Tenth, there must be silver cups to cover the container tops.
If you can get all these ten gifts,
You can make a match for Meng-wo."
When Yen Hui heard these words,
He immediately began to think in his heart.
Opening up the south storehouse of betrothal gifts,
He took out gold and silver by tens of thousands.
He took out copper coins by the thousand and tens of thousands strings.
He took out three pecks of pearls.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hairpins.
He took out fifty pairs of spun silks.
He took out fifty pairs of gold hens.
He took out fifty pairs of silky sheep.
He took out fifty pairs of large pigs.
He took out fifty pairs of dragon geese.
He took out thirty-six containers of wine.

/107 cont'd/

539 He took out silver cups to cover the container tops.
584 /108/ Eight hundred men carried the wealth of gifts,
On the way to the betrothal of Meng-wo.
831 But not half a month after the betrothal was made,
539 Yen Hui fell ill and lay on the high bed.
First they wrote a letter reporting that he was ill.
Second they wrote a letter reporting that he was dead.
The letter arrived while she was eating.
Tears blowed in her eyes, dropping in pairs.
She puts down her chopsticks and read the message.
Read it once, then read it again.
In the message there were no idle words.
There was but sad news that the two were parted.
Meng-wo undid her coiling dragon hairdo and put on the mourning sign.
She took off the gold hairpins and put them inside the dragon box.
Mr. Chang went to the Upper Village to borrow a big horse;
Meng-wo went to the Lower Village and borrowed a sedan chair.
Mr. Chang mounted the horse and went with bowed head.
Meng-wo was behind him still proud and fine.
Mr. Chang turned his head and scolded his daughter:
"Whose family ever brought up a girl to go looking for a man?"
Meng-wo answered her father, saying:
"I am going to the house of Yen to burn filial incense.
Where has there ever been an ox yoked with two yokes?
A horse saddled with two saddles?
A bow fitted with two arrows?
Or a girl who married two husbands?
It is difficult for a horse with two saddles to carry passengers on his back.
A girl married to two men would be the laughing stock of all."
They arrived and were seated in the main hall of the house of Yen.

/108 cont'd/

831 They opened up the coffin and took a look at the corpse within.
539 /109/ Meng-wo's tears flowed in streams.
Then she said to Mr. Yen:
"With the heart to raise your son you did not have the heart to save him.
Now my feelings are in a turmoil.
Livestock, big and small, must not have been slaughtered.
White paper and incense must not have been burned.
Who did not make wishes before the gods?
Who did not burn incense before the altar?"
Hearing Meng-wo's words, Mr. Yen replied:
"Little girl, please listen to my words.
We raised our son with our whole hearts to provide against old age:
To store up grains is to guard against famine in the distant future.
Livestock, big and small, have been slaughtered.
Thousands of pieces of white paper, gold and silver have been burned.
In the morning we killed pigs and sheep as offerings to the ghosts.
At night we killed chickens and ducks as offerings to the five shang /persons who died young/.
Containers of wine were continuously placed on the altar.
Wine was poured before the shrine to make a paste.
Everything was done, but our good wishes were of no avail.
'I'll never get out of bed.'
We replied to our son, saying:
'My son, what has caused your ailment?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Please listen to my words now:
I am now struck with a serious illness.
My life will shortly end, and I'll see Yen Wang (king of hell).
When the oil is burned up the light in the lamp coldly dies.
Giving up life, I shall shortly come to Yen Wang.'

/109 cont'd/

631 To this we replied, saying:
539 'Son, why do you utter these words?
/110/ You have been betrothed for only half a month on this earth.
Why do you give up life and go to the place of the departed?'
Yen Hui replied to us, saying:
'Father and mother, please listen to my words.
When death arrives, there is no distinction between old and young.
The breath in my throat is getting short—I cannot bear it for long.
Everyone in the world wants to live a hundred years.
I am unlucky, and my life cannot be long.
Yen Wang does not care whether a person is old or young.
He does not think of it when he marks with his pen in the register.
Everyone wants to be a son of heaven.
My luck is short, and I cannot desire so much.
Please send word to my betrothed:
I pray that Meng-wo will marry another man.'
Then his body was bathed with scented water,
And placed in a coffin of red silk.
Before yellow leaves have fallen, a green one has dropped.
We sent cassocks everywhere for people to wear.
We know that Meng-wo's gods have taken his life away.
We know that our son's life was short."
When Meng-wo heard these words
She meditated for a long time.
Then she took a key and opened a basket.
She took a key and opened a box.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
She took out red silk cloth two changs long.
At the first night watch she hung herself, at the second night watch she was dead.
Husband and wife both lay dead in the hall.

/110 cont'd/

M Then they bought a long plank of wood,
531 For Meng-wo to be put upon.
539 /111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

M 538 In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

(1)

M H 448 121 The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

H /112 cont'd/
M of Hainan Island in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the
648 history of Hainan or to solve problems of that region in the future, it
121 is very important to understand the intergroup relations among these
three peoples. Let us now begin our discussion on relations between
the Chinese and the Li.

H In the second chapter of my book Report on an Investigation of
175 the Li of Hainan Island, where the "racial and geographic origins of
101 the native Li people," is discussed, I have assumed that the Li migrated from Nanhai /of present Kwangtung province/ to Hainan during the Stone Age. I do not yet have concrete proof whether this assumption is close to the fact or not. However, it is beyond doubt that the Li have lived here since the prehistoric period. According to the most reliable historical research, the Chinese moved to Hainan during the Ch'in dynasty /221-207 B.C./. In 110 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established two provinces there, Chu-yai and Tan-erh. This is recognized as the official date when Hainan Island was brought under China's sovereignty as a part of her territory. It also dates the beginning of intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li. It has been more than two thousand years since then! During these two thousand years, Chinese immigrants to Hainan increased from year to year. The Chinese immigration was carried out more intensively after the Sung period /960-1278 A.D./. (For further /113/ reference see the author's History of the Development of Hainan
Island.) The expansion of the areas occupied by the two groups
H naturally caused complicated conflicts. Moreover, Hainan Island
648 traditionally has been considered an "area beyond /Chinese/ civili-
175 zation" by the governments of various dynasties. They established no suitable policy for governing the Li. Outside the negative actions of "suppression" and "appeasement," they did very little actual constructive work. (For further reference see in the author's book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, the chapter concerning policies adopted by governments to govern the Li.) Hence they could not win the good will of the Li and only increased the troubles between the two groups. This traditional deficiency has come down to modern times, and still causes trouble between the

/113 cont'd/

175 648 two groups from time to time. Take, for example, a recent occurrence: After the peaceful settlement of the Liang-Kwang incident in the summer of 1936, when the country was more solidly unified, the central government of China began to pay more attention to the constructive development of Hainan Island. Consequently, the challenge of opening up Hainan Island became very popular both in government circles and among the public. It reached its climax after the visit to that region by T. V. Soong, member of the Standing Committee of the National Economic Committee. After that, exploratory teams sponsored by various groups on the mainland were sent to Hainan Island, one after the other. Following this, like a wind blowing up a burst of clouds, there followed an investment competition. Capital was raised from various sources and sent to Hainan to purchase land in the Li area. Among them the returned overseas Chinese, possessing an abundance of capital, formed the most aggressive group. Their investments, made with the assistance of the local government, were the most profitable. However, such a competition to purchase land, without any plan, finally aroused the doubts of the Li, who began to oppose it. Especially, a few landlords who had large mountain holdings were vigorously opposed because of the damage to their interests. A few days after my arrival during my recent field trip to Pao-t'ing, a Li chia-ch'ang /headman/ complained to me: "When they buy up land so recklessly, how are we to live afterward?" He posed this question and waited for my answer. In addition several young men protested even more vigorously. It made me realize that the problem was very serious. Indeed, after Wang Chao-i, a Li leader, came back from Canton to Pao-t'ing, he started a movement against the purchase of land in all the different localities. Before taking the action, Wang wrote a long letter to Huang Mo-ching (alias Huang Ch'iang), the magistrate of the Ninth Administrative Inspection Area. His attitude can be seen in the following letter:

648 539 /114/ "To His Excellency Mo-ching: I respectfully acknowledge receipt of your telegram. In order to develop industries in Ch'iung-yai /i.e. Hainan Island/, Your Excellency's idea is

/114 cont'd/

048 absolutely correct. To utilize the capital investment of the
539 returned overseas Chinese has also been my idea. Hence, some
years ago I joined the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Society. It
has always been my sincere hope to attain the objective of mutual
help. As to the present conflict caused by the returned
overseas Chinese buying land, it is not that I do not want to do
my best to bring about mutual help; it involves many difficulties
that we are unable to bear. Let me explain this to you as follows:

423 "The land is controlled by individuals. The trustees of the
425 t'uan do not have the right to sell the land that the people hold.
539 Now when these returned overseas Chinese buy land, they give
each t'uan 500 dollars, inveigle a contract with the district
government before the fact, and then, through political pressure,
force the trustees of the t'uan to sell the land by attaching their
signatures to the sale. This has caused the trouble. It is not
right either from the legal point of view or on the basis of reason.
This is the first point.

311 "The people of the interior (i.e. the Li) usually make their
539 living through planting on the mountain slopes. Without their
mountain land to plant (and they do not possess level fields
either), they would certainly be forced into perpetual slavery,
or at the most would not be able to exist. This is contradictory
to the principle of 'equalizing land ownership and control of
capital' as indicated in /Sun Yat-sen's/ Principle of Livelihood.
This is the second point.

423 "As we understand it, each t'uan usually includes several
361 hundreds of li, with several hundreds of families. Whose mouth
539 would not water over buying such a large area of land for so
little money? Following this precedent, the land of the 40 to 50
t'uan of Pao-t'ing district could be bought up for some 20,000
dollars. Accordingly, the land of the three districts in the Li
area could be bought up for less than a hundred thousand dollars.
After such a purchase what would happen to the living of the
several hundred thousand Li and Miao in that area? This is the
third point.

/114 cont'd/

539 185 "The Li and the Miao are uneducated. They live a primitive life as in ancient times. They should be educated and further civilized, so that their production might be increased and they could enjoy equal treatment. No one should take advantage of their backwardness and take away their land unjustly, making them poorer, with no means to live by. This is not the proper way to treat /minority/ groups. This is the fourth point.

648 167 539 /115/ "The local people welcomed the returned overseas Chinese in the hope that they might invest their capital in agriculture and set up a good example for the local people to learn to increase agricultural production. Now the interests of the local people have been completely jeopardized, and they cannot live together peacefully. This is the fifth point.

"If the district head recognizes the right of the t'uan trustees to sell the property of their t'uan, he, as the head of a district, would accordingly have the right to sell the property of his district. This is the sixth point.

"Moreover, news of the central government's program for the Ch'iung-yai area (Hainan Island) has been widely spread. Capitalists all know that land prices in Hainan will rise rapidly. Therefore, under the pretext of organizing a district for the returned overseas Chinese, they buy up land beforehand, eagerly scheming to make a profit. This is the natural tendency to which more attention should be paid." (The part following is omitted.)

648 In spite of the polite wording of his letter, it is easy to see that his heart was full of anger. What the people were directly opposing then was the returned overseas Chinese who were purchasing land. But the district government was also indirectly involved. This letter shows how angry he was at the [illegible]t government. However, owing [184] to the complicated financial interests among the Li themselves, their reactions toward the land-purchase problem were by no means uniform. As far as I know, some of the Li leaders signed special contracts with returned overseas Chinese. This action led to dissension among the Li. Such complicated troubles involving the conflicts of

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648 different elements consequently developed into a great stumbling block to the purchase of land. However, these troubles were interrupted by the Marco Polo Bridge incident which brought the government development program to an end. The storm, therefore, was over.

However, there were also many other reasons that caused disharmony between the Li and the Chinese. For centuries the Chinese government had not paid proper attention to governing the Li. It neglected the qualifications of the officials appointed to the Li area. The appointed Chinese officials in charge of administration in the Li area were generally cruel and corrupt. They were only interested in acquiring property in the Li area. Taking advantage of their backwardness, they oppressed the Li and took away their property at will. This corrupt administration began as early as the Han dynasty. Sun Hsin and his son, Pao, were the /116/ first. Officials in later dynasties followed their example or became even worse. The records of corruption appear everywhere in history. In addition, there were local rascals who made illegal use of official titles to cheat the people. Chinese merchants who went to the Li area on business also took advantage of the backwardness of the natives to make illegal profits or to lend money at high interest rates. These people added more burdens to the already bankrupt Li, who became poorer from day to day. In consequence, they became reckless and resorted to uprisings. The Li uprisings under different dynasties actually arose for these reasons. Even at the present time, the Li are still suspicious of the Chinese. We felt this strongly as soon as we arrived in the Li area. We were surrounded by suspicious eyes and unnatural behavior. It was hard to get them to trust us. They were even more suspicious toward government officials. In recent years, the government has carried out much propaganda work to "civilize the Li" with considerable success, but this kind of lack of mutual understanding cannot be removed at once. In 1935, the Kwangtung Provincial Government divided the Li area into three districts, Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, and in the next two years made plans for developing the Li area. These were important matters for the Li, yet their

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H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. M 648 736 Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property—level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

/117 cont'd/

648 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the
736 Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

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648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like
175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

/118 cont'd/

648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their
648 fortunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view,
466 therefore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[822] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

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648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their
sincere plea!

181 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader
185 complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being
governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to
own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't
have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor;
so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it.
Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations
we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land
ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for
what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only
181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they
556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true
648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land-
423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/
contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are strug-
gling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make
the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside
observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their
firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an
anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest
181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the
171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of
there and send them to school. This situation was completely
different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison.
One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two
years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had
selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the
Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths
had been selected.

181 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools
871 in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese
646 teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li lead-
ers, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

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181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

M /121 cont'd/
157 people. They must work hard so they can overcome nature and in-
461 crease their production. They must be frugal so they can make the
most effective distribution of their hard-earned produce in order not
to be anxious about starvation. All visitors who have been in Miao
villages are surprised by how hard they work. The women usually
get up before dawn to do their various domestic chores. Early morn-
ing is also the time for them to hull rice. The thumping of pestle
and mortar occasionally wakes up the sleeping guests. After sunrise
they separate and go up the mountain to cut wood or do some kind
of farm work. The men work on the same schedule from sunrise to
sunset. The busiest season for them is the period from the second to
the fifth month. Within this period they have to cut wood, burn the
mountains, and sow. Every type of work requires much physical
M strength. They usually make the best use of every inch of the land.
273 Their frugal life is equally praiseworthy. Though most of the men
drink and smoke, they do so only to a certain extent. There are
almost no drunkards in Miao society. Except on a few festive occa-
sions, they seldom drink. Some of the women do drink, but none
of them smoke. /122/ This is in sharp contrast with Li life. Further-
more, under the double oppression of both Li leaders and Chinese
merchants, the Miao are an underprivileged people. For the sake of
living they have to learn how to obey and be submissive and patient,
but at all times they never give up fighting for a better life. There-
fore, in personality they are firm of purpose.

H The Li are not like this. In the Li area, though level fields
13 are very rare, yet the endless mountain slopes are invaluable property
313 given by nature, full of lumber, rattan, wild animals, etc., free
for exploitation. The slopes of the small mountains are the best
land for raising grain. It is only necessary to start operations and
then gather in the crops. Since their supply of foodstuff is com-
H paratively sure, their spending is also freer. It is of no use for them
181 to pile up their savings. "Be drunk while you have wine today";
273 let tomorrow take care of tomarrow. Furthermore, they can move
276 from place to place rather freely. From mountain to mountain,
they need not worry about seeking a place to live. Hence drinking

/122 cont'd/

H and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not
181 even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of
273 this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging
276 them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt.
[148] (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of
the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making
H a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao
M want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that
171 they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while
157 they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two
181 peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and
hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

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M The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the re-
648 lationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious
439 aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

H
M In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
177 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading
191 position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and
H the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
m way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
871 the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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M We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

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This, of course, is the responsibility of the government. However, they by no means can be solved through verbal service. It is necessary to understand the core of the problem first, so that the disease may be cured by the use of the proper medicine. As has been mentioned before, troubles between the Chinese and the Li are caused by corrupt officials, land rowdies, dishonest merchants, etc. To adjust intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li, the prerequisite is to get rid of these bad elements. This is a purely political measure. In the future, if the government selects better administrators for the Li area, intensifies discipline, and checks corruption, the Li will naturally come to the support of the government and the obstacles between the two peoples will gradually disappear. In the near future, as to the land problem, which is a natural result of the movement for the development of Hainan, the government should set up an over-all program and measures for a satisfactory solution so that disaster may be avoided before it breaks out. The relation between the Chinese and the Miao is comparatively simple. It is easy to improve. But the frictions between the Li and the Miao should be given more attention. The antagonism between them springs entirely from the land problem. /125/ Within limits so that the Li interests are not jeopardized, we should give some satisfaction to the Miao with regard to their demand for land. In this way the Miao would be satisfied while the Li would not be scared of their "bed" being occupied by other people. If the source of trouble is removed, the antagonism between them would disappear, and intergroup friendship would naturally improve.

However, these passive measures are by no means enough for further improvement of intergroup relations. We have to do something actually constructive that would link the two groups spiritually. The removal of the source of trouble relies upon political power, while the improvement of spiritual relations relies primarily upon cultural forces. As regards the latter, Chinese culture should be utilized to the utmost. That is to say, we have to develop to the fullest extent the good elements of Chinese culture and make use of them to improve the lives of the Li and the Miao so that they will

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H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 1114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

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Appendix

Journal of the Investigation

DJ A complete journal of the investigation of the Li and Miao has already been included in the author's Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. The following excerpt, covering the period from the 18th day of the second month to the 15th day of the third month (1937), is given here because this particular section is related to the investigation of the Miao, and the reader may use it as a reference for the main article.

Second month, eighteenth day. (Thursday)

133 At eleven o'clock in the morning, with Wang Chao-i's younger brother, Chao-ch'in, as guide, the investigation party set out from Pao-t'ing for Ta-ch'i, with 22 hired bearers to carry the baggage and a horse borrowed from Wang Hsün so that we could take turns riding. As we left the city gates, an uneven ridge of mountains rose and fell before our eyes, but Mount Ch'i Chih /"Seven Fingers"/ stood out as especially imposing, with its peaks visible from afar, sticking up like seven fingers, from which it has received its name. As we proceeded along the way, there was nothing but mountain paths, which were steep, rugged, and difficult to negotiate. By three o'clock in the afternoon we had passed the Chiu Ch'ü mountains, which were precipitous and dangerous, and we puffed from our exertions in climbing them, and when we reached the summit, all the mountains lay spread out at our feet, and we could see for a distance of hundreds of miles.

On either side of a narrow defile lay luxuriant growths of primeval forests, which could truly become an inexhaustible source of wealth if scientific methods and management were used. Passing over from the front to the rear of the mountains, the road was short and actually wound back and forth nine times.

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133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [illegible] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the t'uan trustee of the Yen-sheng t'uan, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

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755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stom-
ach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only
medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a
grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch
more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it.
When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was
surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite
different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found else-
where in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is
adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from out-
side air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here
is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in
this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to
end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang
Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
[171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs,
traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourn-
ing garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tomb-
stones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not
until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split
into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different
routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and
decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/130 cont'd/

Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a
126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon
648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
561 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

/131 cont'd/

000 This allayed their suspicion. We then took out our phonograph and
126 turned it on, which attracted swarms of Miao to gather around us.
Upon our request to look at the Miao scripts, which Headman Lu kept,
122 he let us peruse a number of them, among which were some very
treasured ones, depicting the origin and history of the Miao people.
511 Headman Lu talked to us at length about the hardships of the Miao;
their indescribable and hard-to-imagine low living conditions brought
forth our deepest sympathy. There were 12 families in this village,
under the family names of lu, Teng, and P'an. Their main occupation was farming on lands rented from the Li people.

000 Limited by our schedule, we decided to cancel our trip to Pao-ch'a village. We left Ang-chi at five-thirty to return to Ta-ch'i. They gave us a warm farewell, asking us to return to their village again. Upon our return, we found that Mr. Wang Chao-i had come back from Pao-t'ing, and we had supper together, during which he talked at length about his experiences in the Li area. His stories fascinated us and sounded like fabulous legends.

Second month, twenty-third day. (Tuesday)

226 After breakfast we went to Wen-hua River to watch the Li carry on their collective fishing. The two banks of the river were crowded with men and women, about 60 or 70, each carrying fishing gear. The stream was rather narrow, and the depth of the water was hardly up to the knee. First, a section of the stream was selected, and then large stones and rocks were put in the water to block the flow from upstream, and small ditches were dug on the lower part of the stream in order to half empty out the water. Then the poison was poured in. When the fish touched this poison, they were immediately knocked out and floated on the surface of the water. The Miao then rushed to catch them with their nets. Today, the job was rather poorly done because the water from upstream had not been dammed completely enough to prevent the flow downward, thus preventing the emptying out of the fishing area. Since the poison could not have its full effect in the water, /132/ only a small amount of fish was killed and caught.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng
village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because
of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was
[532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the
sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the
wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations,
and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's
directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this
kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese;a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We
arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were
out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village
gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years
old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about
30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each
family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably
163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate
171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their
more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his
165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures
of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time
622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with
217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner
and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/132 cont'd/

622 217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we
122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-
008 chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/133 cont'd/

[illegible] dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were 262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and [262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second mo[illegible]wenty-seventh day[illegible]Saturday)

The program for [illegible]chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call bac[illegible]soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests,
554 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than
793 ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each
[779] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/135 cont'd/
554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

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361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Lu, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

[illegible] We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [illegible] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but [illegible] their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

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585 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

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Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with 312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our 000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[493] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[139] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

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000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house,
but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen
278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a
kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to
Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm.
He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking
the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no
medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly
struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place
mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have
honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea
with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is
yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today,
if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of
278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate
164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits
are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad
to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading
center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of
226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish
bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish.
We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children
to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of
fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

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Third month, seventh day. (Sunday)

000 There was a dense fog this morning, and as we could not go out, I wrote several letters. As one of Mr. Wang's workmen intended to leave Oao-t'ing today, I gave him the letter to mail. Yüan-chiung's sickness was completely over by this time, and he had recovered his spirits. We roamed all day long in the neighboring Ch'i and Hsiao villages. In a number of places we saw Hsiao girls at work hulling rice, /140/ but, seeing the approach of strangers, they hid away immediately, so that we had no chance to take pictures of them.

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[435] In the afternoon a Chinese peddler came from Pao-t'ing with a load of black fish for sale. We bought two and a half catties for two hundred copper coins, and they made a rare dish in this deep mountain valley.

Third month, eighth day. (Monday)

361 This morning the fog was again dense till eight o'clock when the sun broke through. We walked leisurely to the lower Hsiao village on the other side. The village was occupied entirely by Hsiao, ten families in all, with three names, Li, Liu, and Huang. Headman /pao chang/ Li welcomed us warmly to his house, and we had a long, pleasant conversation together. When we were leaving, he sent his workmen to carry several catties of potatoes to be brought back with us. In return we gave him gifts of salt, kerosene, candles, etc.

587 In the afternoon we went to the upper Hsiao village to attend a Hsiao wedding. The bride was already thirty years old and had been married before to a Hsiao of Ta-pen village. When her husband died, she had brought her son and daughter back to live with her mother. Now she was to be married for the second time to a Hsiao of the same village. The bridegroom was of about the same age. At the ceremony the couple did not appear in any special apparel; they wore just plain clothes, a little cleaner than usual.

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587 In the evening the bride was accompanied to her husband's house by a female go-between. She carried her small not yet weaned baby boy at her breast. The groom welcomed her to the banquet which had been prepared, to which he had invited many friends and relatives. As wine flowed into their mouths, songs flowed out. First the guests took turns singing songs to the bride, and the bride answered them, one by one. The bride then moved to sing songs reciprocally with the parents of the groom. But all the time, the groom stood aside, attending everyone, and did not drink or sing. We turned on the phonograph at the door to add to their good spirits and were dragged in to have a drink with them. I forced a few mouthfuls down, then hurriedly, on the pretext of going to change the record, sneaked out from their company. Since I was not used to liquor, it would have been embarrassing if I had let myself join them in their drinking spree.

/141/ Third month, ninth day. (Tuesday)

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574 In the afternoon we moved out of Mr. Wang's house to stay in Wen-hua center. On our way through the upper Hsiao village, we saw a family having a big wedding banquet with a lot of guests. The bridegroom, upon seeing us, rushed out to block our way and insisted upon our joining their wedding party. After resisting in vain, we were dragged in to the party. Yüan-chiung, not able to understand their dialect, was lucky to have escaped their dragging. At the house I was rushed to the head seat at the table. I declined stubbornly, excusing myself by saying that I had to attend to my luggage which was following me and could not stay too long. The host placed a large cup of strong wine in front of me and another for himself, insisting that we both should empty the cups before I left them. His manner was so earnest and serious that I felt there was no room to retreat. I was so taken aback with this large cup of wine that I thought of a scheme. I took half a cup, and, while he was not noticing, I spit it out on the floor, with a handkerchief covering my mouth. The host was still insistent that the cup should

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585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

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755 disappointed. We were later told by the villagers that ever since this old woman had become sick the year before, several cows and numerous pigs had been slaughtered for the performance of the t'iao niang ritual.

Third month, eleventh day. (Thursday)

005 After breakfast at ten o'clock, a resident of the center, a certain Ch'en, took us to Fu-an village to look around. After walking about two hours we reached the village. This village had been a piece of wasteland before, but after Mr. Wang Chao-i had invited some Li and Hsiao to move here several years ago, it has become a beautiful place, excelling any of the Li villages we have so far visited. In the village there is a school, the Fu-an Primary School. The building and equipment seemed pretty good. The residents of the village looked cleaner than those of other places, and they had very good manners. This was certainly a model Li village. The consequences of education and acculturation clearly could be seen. At this time most of the men and women had gone out to catch fish in a stream near by. We thought we would observe how they fished, and so we went upstream, and in about half an hour, we caught sight of several hundred people crowding on the banks of the narrow stream. A strikingly large variety of fishing gear were displayed during the fishing, and we watched for a long time, fascinated by the scene, before we went back.

At night Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing served a big banquet for us. The food was delicious, more so than any we have had since we came into the Li area.

/148/ Third month, twelfth day. (Friday)

A wedding took place today in Ang-chi village. In the morning Headman Lu sent a man to take us down there, and we stayed in the same little reed hut we occupied last time. It was only a few days

872 since we had been there last, but, when we came this time, we saw

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872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wen-hua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.
585 171 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely enervated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

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000 Today I ordered a fat chicken, given me a few days ago by Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing, to be killed to entertain the headman /chia ch'ang and pao ch'ang/. At the banquet, I informed them of our scheduled departure the next day, and they showed much regret at our leaving them. To console them, I told them that, as a native of this place, I would come back for more visits as communication was getting better everyday. But, in my heart, I sensed that this, my first trip, might also be my last to this island.

Third month, fourteenth day. (Sunday)

In the morning as I was strolling outside the village, the clear sound of singing came to my ears from the opposite hills, breaking the silence of the whole world, and leaving a nostalgia feeling in my heart.

At nine o'clock we left Ang-chi to return to Mr. Wang's house at Ta-ch'i. Headman Lu and others saw us off.

In the evening we went to an empty area outside Yen-sheng village to watch some Li play at swinging and dub sa. The participants were all young men and women, who appeared to be enjoying themselves very much. I remember that when I joined them for a try, I felt great pleasure. I was told that this sport would be
526 played from now until the fourth or fifth month when it would stop
831 during the busy farming period. This is the most popular sport among the Li, which also provides the best opportunity for romance and love among the young men and women.

Third month, fifteenth day. (Monday)

000 We have decided to leave Ta-ch'i tomorrow, and so today we made the last round of visits in the neighboring Li villages, during which we bought many things of their everyday use.

[526] After supper we returned to the sport of swinging. As we passed
831 through Yen-sheng village, a Li who was accompanying us pointed
584 out a small reed hut and explained that this was the young people's

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831 fang liao (rendezvous) house. I had heard about these houses but had
584 never had a chance to see one. Out of curiosity I asked to be taken in there for ~~a look~~. Upon entering the house, I saw three pretty girls
[278] smoking by the fire. Seeing us, /145/ they hurriedly rose and courteously gave us the seats. One of them took out a nose flute and began to blow on it. Its sound was low and slow, plaintive and sad, and engagingly touching. When I asked if she would sell me her flute, she smiled but did not answer, and stared with her eyes softly bright, causing a man to feel bewitched. Inexperienced as I was in such a situation, I did not respond as was expected. Excusing myself to get back to my group, which was waiting at the swinging place, I got up to go. She immediately held me back, and insisted that I stay there till after supper. I didn't dare remain alone, and left , without looking back. Not long after I had reached the swinging grounds, the girl and her companions also came and joined in the swinging. During the game of dub sa, she made overt attempts to be intimate with me. At around nine o'clock at night, as we began to leave for home, she spotted me and followed us all the way. When we passed through the village, I headed directly toward Mr. Wang's house. Seeing that I did not intend to go to the little hut, the girl became frantic. Raising high her torch, she began to shout at me, her voice arousing the barks of all the dogs in the neighborhood. At this sight, my friends laughed aloud at me; I was so flustered that I hastened my steps. But to this day, I cannot help still thinking about this girl; her passion for me has not faded from my heart.

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Postface

114 This small volume and my other book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, which contains more than 200,000 characters, were both written in the summer of 1937 in Canton after I had returned from a field trip to the Li area on Hainan Island. The two may be said to be sister works, which I had originally planned to publish simultaneously.

However, not long after I had finished the writing, the war of resistance against the Japanese broke out and spread vigorously; Canton was soon lost to the enemy. The original plan for publication was consequently given up. The two manuscripts, therefore, accompanied the author all over southwestern China. In the fall of 1939, Professor Ku Hsieh-kang, Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Ch'i-lu University, kindly accepted the manuscript of the Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island as a volume in a series of studies to be published by the Institute. It was sent to Shanghai to be published by the K'aiming Bookstore. In the winter of 1940, I received a letter from Mr. Liu Chung-hsi (alias Liu Hsien), who was in charge of the printing at Shanghai, saying that all the printing plates had been made, and the book would be printed soon. Suddenly the Pearl Harbor incident occurred. The situation at Shanghai changed overnight. After that I heard nothing more about the publication. After the war was over, I was informed that the original printing plates had survived the war. However, owing to the uncontrolled inflation in postwar Shanghai, the K'aiming Bookstore did not intend to print the book. As to when the Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island will be published, I am unable to say.

Since the publication of the book on the Li was delayed, I temporarily gave up getting the book on the Miao printed. Furthermore, the war of resistance against the Japanese was followed by a civil war, which spread over every corner of the land. A purely academic work could not offer help for the real starvation and homelessness of the people, and therefore its publication did not seem an urgent need of

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114 the time. It was only very recently when the movement for the development of Hainan was revived that, with the encouragement of two of my close friends, Mr. Ch'en Chia-wu and Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, I decided to send this book for publication again. Thus a part of the humble desire which I have long cherished has materialized.

122 For the publication of this book, I am indebted to the aid of Chu-hai University. My teacher, Mr. Chou H'ai-pin, gave me the title; Mr. Chiang Ying-liang kindly lent me his precious photographs, and Mr. Lo Pao-t'ien drew the map. Their kindness is hereby respectfully acknowledged.

The Author

June 3, 1948, at the Western Village of Canton

1: Wang
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AE5 Miao

[For the materials on tso-chai service, see 765. Since tso-chai service is held within one or two years after the death of a Miao and not the funeral service it is classified under 765.]

113 AE6 Yao

[For materials on Yao of Hainan Island, see I:Wang AE5 Miao.]